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LACK of moral courage can certainly not be imputed to President Wilson. If any unpopular action must be undertaken in the national interest, everybody else dodges it, while the President puts it through without flinching. It was the President who was forced to assume responsibility for our entry into the war, for conscription, for the unprecedented policy of immense loans to foreign nations. It was the President who alone dared to place a quietus upon the plan of rushing a volunteer division to France under a popular hero, and who determined upon sending overseas the flower of our regular army. When the vital matter of food control falls afoul of conflicting and widely represented interests, the President comes promptly to the rescue. Certainly a majority in both Senate and House recognized that the present was no proper occasion to interpolate a sweeping domestic reform like national prohibition into a war measure. But many of those who recognized this shrank from incurring the odium of those of their constituents who place prohibition above every other issue, and who are sufficiently numerous in most constituencies to turn the elections. President Wilson did not shrink from such odium. Probably he would personally prefer a bone dry nation, but not at the expense of national harmony in the existing crisis.

PROHIBITIONISTS have very little reason to feel downcast even if one attempt to introduce nation-wide prohibition has failed. Now that the Reed amendment to the Interstate Commerce law is in effect every prohibitionist state becomes bone dry, unless it chooses to manufacture alcoholic beverages to defeat its own law. We are through with the scandal of prohibitory laws applicable only to those who have not the foresight to secure shipments from across state lines. Very little ought to be heard, in future, of the argument that prohibition doesn't prohibit. Twenty-three states well distributed over the country represent a pretty wide area of experimentation with unqualified prohibition. If the social and economic benefits resulting from the elimination of alcohol are as great as every advocate of prohibition assumes, other states will soon be added to the twenty-three and prohibition by constitutional amendment will become practicable. Besides, a constitutional amendment is not strictly indispensable. Prohibitory excises upon manufacture, together with prohibitory import duties, can be enacted into law at any time when the prohibitionists command a clear majority in Congress. No President would veto such measures if they were passed on their own merit.

FROM the recesses of the once Forbidden City of the Palace at Peking, the boy Emperor whose brief reign was styled Hsuan Tung has emerged and proclaimed his resumption of the Dragon Throne. Such a possibility was predicted in these columns not long since. The military party has elevated a new puppet, and China will, it seems, shortly be in the throes of another struggle between the "outs" and the "ins." In the main the generals represent the forces of reaction, their opponents the prophets of progress. But the reactionaries are in reality

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the more practical, if cynical, leaders who wish to deal with problems of government in the time-honored way, while the Republicans, many of them educated in the United States, have not yet reconciled their western formulae and their aspirations for a better order with the actualities of their situation. A struggle between Imperialists and Constitutionalists will breed disorder which will almost inevitably encourage Japan to ask the Powers to give her a mandate to preserve the peace. This Far-Eastern drama has developed slowly, but the book has been open so that he who ran might read.

THERE is great discontent in railway circles over the refusal of the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant the full 15 per cent increase in freight rates. The modest advances permitted will help to sustain railway credit, but no one imagines that they will be sufficient to induce any considerable flow of capital to the railway industry. In view of the advancing costs of operation it may be assumed that the decision practically leaves the railways in the status quo ante. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the railways rested their case upon an alleged serious deterioration in their condition which the course of events tends to disprove. They wanted a 15 per cent advance in order to break even, and it now seems clear that they can break even on less. Nobody denies that railway progress has lagged behind industrial progress in the last decade, but no convincing argument has been advanced by the railway advocates to prove that the advance in rates demanded would have mended this situation. Even if railway revenues were substantially increased the present would be an unfavorable time to raise large sums of new capital. The mere sustaining of the value of existing railway securities through increased earnings is not relevant to the existing national emergency. The railway managers doubtless realize more vividly than anyone else the necessity of improving our railway facilities immediately. But they did not work out a formula by which we could have been assured that the increased earnings would actually have been devoted to this use.

HOLLAND and Scandinavia, as everyone knows, have been supplying Germany with food ever since the outbreak of the war. They eat our wheat and sell their potatoes to our enemy. They take our corn and transform it into pork and butter that Germany is eager to get. Perhaps it is an exaggerated estimate that enough food passes into Germany from the neutrals to provide two and a half million soldiers with minimum supplies. But there is no denying that the amount is very considerable, and ought to be reduced so far as may be practicable. We should recognize the fact, however, that neutrals contiguous with Germany are in a very difficult position. They cannot do without German coal and iron, since neither we nor our allies can supply them with these necessaries. And if they must buy what they need from Germany, they must also sell what Germany needs. Even if we could furnish them with coal and iron, they could not abruptly discontinue a trade with Germany established long before the war without laying themselves open to charges of unneutrality. Now, they are just as near the brink of war as they care to be, or we care to have them. We have no desire to force lesser nations into the war against their will. And even if we were less scrupulous, we should not find it to our advantage to enter upon a course that might open the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt to the German submarines.

THE profession of arms in this country at least is losing its traditional charm. Men in uniform must not be served intoxicating liquors. Commissions are appointed to provide healthful and denatured amusements for the cantonments of the National Army. The swashbuckler may no longer swash—and now if he be of the New York National Guard he may no longer smoke on the street. General O'Ryan's order insisting upon the observance of military courtesy and his injunction that officers and men keep their blouses buttoned, are both timely and necessary. But the idea that a man may no longer smoke a cigarette on the street in order, forsooth, that he may have to obey a disagreeable order, and so learn that disagreeable orders must be obeyed, is preposterous. The General thinks it will make for discipline. The General is wrong. Discipline in any case imposes severe restraint upon the individual. Without discipline there can be no army. But orders should have their genesis in some necessity of the service. This order does not.

SECRETARY BAKER'S repudiation of the price agreement arrived at by the soft coal operators strikes one at first as disillusioning. We had another Cabinet member's word for it that the agreement marked the advance of patriotism into the neutral realm of business. Now we are given to understand by Secretary Baker that the prices fixed, three dollars a ton for the unofficial consumer, two dollars and a half for the government, are exorbitant. Is it possible to reconcile these two Cabinet views of the same thing? Well, the prices are no doubt exorbitant, considered in themselves. Who would expect the coal operators to flay themselves down to a fair profit, at their very

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first exercise in patriotism? They were conscious of a desire and an ability to charge four dollars or five. Thus three dollars really meant a patriotic sacrifice, perhaps of something that didn't belong to them, but still of something that they were in a position to take. Secretary Lane's enthusiasm for the agreement, however, doubtless arose from an intuition of tendencies rather than from the actual results in this particular case. We have thousands of organizations that occupy themselves with price fixing. They meet in secret and consider no other interest than their own. The coal operators displayed a readiness to admit representatives of the public interest to their councils. Possibly they have indicated a way by which we can escape both the wastes of frenzied competition and the extortions of uncontrolled price combinations.

ONE price to the general public and a better price to the government is a principle that is very popular nowadays. We find it applied in the steel, the copper, the coal, and the lumber industries, and no doubt it is in much more general use. Nevertheless, it is a principle that seems to have nothing to recommend it but patriotic intent. If the coal operators can afford to sell their product to the government for two dollars and a half a ton, a price of three dollars to the public is extortionate. It represents a tribute running into the hundreds of millions. If the price to the government is insufficient to cover costs, together with a fair profit, the coal operators must be making the loss good out of the higher prices imposed upon the general public. In order that the government may have cheap coal for its battleships and transports, the manufacturer and the householder must pay more for coal than it naturally should cost. This represents a forced contribution for a public purpose—the classical definition of a tax. It is a tax no legislature has voted; it is an extreme form of taxation without representation. Carry the principle to its logical conclusion of free supplies for the government, and see what becomes of democratic institutions.

AN American dramatic critic's name is almost never familiar to many of us. William Winter was an exception to this rule. His name would have been widely known even if he had written nothing but dramatic criticism. His long activity counted for a good deal, to be sure, but it would not have if he had not revealed himself in his writings. His copious and easy style, his poetry and sentiment, his prudishness and humor and pugnacity—these things made a picture. Mr. Winter loved the past like a partisan. Except when a beloved player or a beloved manager was concerned he was likely to treat the present without indulgence. With humorous activity he did what he could to retard the growth of Ibsen's fame. Shakespeare could put Doll Tearsheet on the stage and escape unrebuked. If a contemporary playwright tried to do the like he risked being told that his familiarity with such women seemed to be greater than Mr. Winter's. Such an attitude was a disservice to the stage. But he did the stage a real service by his love of the poetic drama, and by a love of acting which interested the public and actors themselves in their art. In spite of the terribly painful disease that he suffered from, Mr. Winter kept up his work to the end of his life, sustained by his gallant and laborious spirit.

EXCEPT in his inventiveness, imagination and patience, Orville Wright is a pretty representative American. It is nevertheless far from representative of present American opinion when he suggests that airplane raids "could be conducted against . . . business and population centres in western Germany, producing upon her irreparable injury." The suggestion is not heartedly made, but it ought not to have been made at all. American opinion is at present absolutely opposed to bomb-dropping on civilian populations, whether by way of reprisals or in the hope of doing a substantial amount of damage to life and property. We may as well admit, however, that one thing might lessen American opposition to this kind of barbarism, namely, a conviction that enough airplanes and aviators had been collected on the western front to bring a quick end to the war by attacking civilian populations. Such a change in American opinion is barely conceivable. It would also be nationally disgraceful. An inhuman method does not lose its inhumanity by being employed on a scale prodigious enough to bring about military results through the destruction of non-combatants.

WHETHER or not selective conscription is to be a success depends largely upon the composition of the local exemption boards. No judicial function is more delicate and important than that which they are to perform, involving as it does virtually the power of life and death over millions of men in the aggregate. Fortunately, in nearly all the states exemption boards seem to have been filled with men of the highest character, free from all partisan taint. The appointments made in Pennsylvania, however, have aroused a storm of criticism of the most bitter and sensational character. Vance McCormick and A. Mitchell Palmer openly charge that organization influence dictated these appointments and that almost without exception the men chosen are profes-

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sional politicians, some of them of despicable type. In Lackawanna County four of them are actually Republican candidates for office at the present time. With conditions in Pennsylvania at their lowest stage of depravity since the capitol scandal, the suspicion, horrid as it is, that these boards may be manipulated to secure exemptions for political friends, perhaps even to send political enemies to the front, finds general expression. Governor Brumbaugh seems to have been the victim of conscienceless local leaders in the matter, but he has not bettered the situation by replying to Mr. Palmer's definite assertions with the statement that the latter is either a liar or a fool or a rascal. Appeal has been taken to the War Department. If upon investigation the charges of Messrs. Palmer and McCormick are sustained there must be immediate and sweeping reorganization of the exemption boards of the state. Further penalties in the case may be left to the people of Pennsylvania.

WE may as well admit that responsibility for the East St. Louis atrocities falls upon our society collectively. Our leaders of thought are to blame, in that they have too largely left the race problem to the ranters and exploiters of ignorant prejudice. Our political leaders are to blame, in that they have permitted to perpetuate itself a social condition breeding moral degradation in both whites and blacks. More immediately to blame are our industrial leaders, thirsting after war profits, who not only in East St. Louis but all over the country are employing the method of negro importation to beat down the claims of labor to a share in the increased industrial earnings. They know perfectly well that this will cause trouble, but they think the trouble worth the price. And we, the disinterested public, pusillanimously let this sort of thing go on. While we are accepting responsibility, let us not fail to measure correctly the magnitude of our disgrace. In the last forty years of peace, the lands of the "Hun" never afforded a parallel horror. Austria-Hungary, festering with race problems, has afforded no parallel. We are forced to resort to Turkish history in the Balkans and Armenia to find precedent for such barbarisms as those with which East St. Louis has disgraced our name.

WHAT opposition there is to the Daylight Saving bill seems to be due to a simple failure to see the point. The objectors fall for the most part into two classes—those who say that the thing is a mere farce and of no effect at all except as it sets a precedent for organized lying, and those who look upon it as a drastic interference with individual liberty. In point of fact, of course, it is an eminently practical device, and at the same time it leaves the individual exactly as much liberty as he has at present. The gist of the matter is simply this. In winter we get up at seven because daylight comes at seven; in summer we get up at seven because we got up at seven in winter. It is convenient to have uniform practical associations with every hour in the day—to have seven o'clock mean time-to-get-up, one o'clock mean lunch; and since it is far less uncomfortable to get up an hour or so after daybreak in summer than it would be to get up an hour or so before daybreak in winter, we have chosen to conform summer schedule to winter schedule rather than conform winter schedule to summer schedule. But it would be much pleasanter if we did not have to conform at all—if we did not have to throw away one of the most delightful hours of the day in summer just because it happens to be one of the most unpleasant hours of the day in winter. The Daylight Saving bill is a device for effecting this object; it enables us to put more daylight into our waking hours and more darkness (another blessing) into our sleeping hours, and at the same time to keep the convenient practical connotations of the words seven o'clock, one o'clock, and the like. What the late riser really enjoys is rising later than other people; and that enjoyment will still be his.

Lloyd-George Looks Ahead

THE recent speech of Mr. Lloyd-George in Glasgow affords a clear indication of a changing state of mind on the part of the English government, of a different and more discriminating attitude towards the vast smouldering conflagration of the war and towards the best method of providing for its extinction and for safeguards against its repetition. The Prime Minister did not, indeed, say anything which indicated an enfeeblement of his robust fighting spirit, but in this instance the general bellicose temper did not prevent him from including many passages which were something more than a call to battle. He was evidently seeking to assimilate in some measure the attitude and policy of the western Allies to that of the Russian provisional government. Although he did not go as far as many Americans would like in the direction of a sharper definition of proposed terms of peace, he did much to remove some of the graver obstacles to such a definition. He recognized more clearly than ever before the moral value of what the Russian Revolution has brought to the cause of the Allies. He at least prepared the way for converting this moral raw material into an effective diplomatic weapon.

According to many of the newspaper headlines

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the speech was at bottom a re-affirmation of the "knock-out" strategy—a reiteration of the fighting formula of no peace negotiations except as the consequence of a decisive military victory. But it is precisely in this respect that the Glasgow speech did not pursue the beaten track of his previous speeches. While he was, very properly, as fiery and as uncompromising as ever in rejecting the idea of peace terms which would afford any real encouragement to German aggression, he no longer expressly insisted upon a military decision as a condition of peace. He emphasized not the mere fact of victory, not its amount, but its quality. The war, he said, would not come to an end until "the Allied armies attained the ends which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany." This statement is ambiguous, but it is susceptible of an interpretation with which both Russians and Americans can cordially agree. Mr. Lloyd-George apparently means by "ends" not the purely military objective of stamping out all armed resistance on the part of the enemy, but the political object of protecting western civilization thereafter against a repetition of such a dangerous offense. Instead of subordinating political policy to military victory he subordinated military policy to the attainment of political ends, and so opened the door for their attainment by diplomatic as well as military action.

The remainder of the speech corroborated the correctness of this interpretation. He insisted on indemnities but they were transformed from punishment for past sins into guaranties against their repetition. He refused to return Mesopotamia to Turkey, but he did not claim it for the British Empire. The fate of Mesopotamia as well as that of the German colonies was referred to the peace conference. He made a useful distinction between the German government with Bethmann-Hollweg as Chancellor and the Prussian Junkers. While declaring that the Allies would bring to negotiations with a democratic Germany a less suspicious and more conciliatory disposition than they could with an autocratic Germany, he expressly repudiated the impossible idea of imposing with the sword a democratic government on the German people. Finally, the passages about Russia were admirable in substance and in spirit. A frank admission that the "developments in Russia have modified the military situation" to the disadvantage of the Allies was only the introduction to a warm tribute to the invaluable and indispensable contribution made by the Russian democracy to the moral structure of the common cause. A victory won with the help of the armies of the Russian Republic would be "a higher and more exalted victory than ever was contemplated before."

Mr. Lloyd-George's recent speech, consequently, in spite of many passages which were unnecessarily vague and ambiguous, should serve to mitigate dissensions among the Allies and perhaps in some slight degree to create them in Central Europe. It was to an unprecedented extent informed by political as distinguished from merely military objects, and it may well be the first symptom of a new diplomacy on the part of the Allies—a diplomacy which will seek to make the future organization of a League of Nations less rather than more difficult. His method for instance of providing for the future of Mesopotamia and the German colonies, while it may look like a convenient evasion, is really nothing of the kind. It tends in the direction of a settlement of these questions by negotiation rather than merely by superior power. The peace conference will be essentially an organ of international authority—a parliament of the world in which all belligerents will be represented and have their say. The explicit reference, consequently, of such knotty problems as the future of Mesopotamia to this international authority as an essentially international question is a significant concession to the principle underlying a League of Nations. By implication it places the future control of backward countries in the hands of the one certain future organ of internationalism, and there it is likely to remain. The economic and political problems involved by the backward countries are not essentially British or German or European. No one country or continent has a right to impose a particular solution on the rest of the world. Their disposition should not be left to the results of private agreements among the states whose interests are most immediately involved. Mr. Lloyd George's suggested solution diminishes the region in which private agreements among states will be the controlling authority and increases the region in which, one may hope, legislation will derive from an international organization based on an international conference and determined by international ideals.

Ideals and Interests

TWO sets of hard-headed people have been made uncomfortable by the statement that America is in the war for the sake of ideals. On the one hand the conservative tariff-Republican kind of man objects. He is belligerent, but he wishes to make war for some private and exclusive right, or to avenge some concrete injury. He distrusts the more generous reaches of the mind. To him the world is in reality a crowd of aggressive individuals, each trying to get as much as possible for himself, and it is dangerous self-deception to

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act on any other theory. This opinion is shared by pacifist supporters of isolation. If Germany has sinister imperialist designs, so have the Allies. No American really wanted war except those who had something immediate to gain by it, or those who were fooled by the profiteers. The only individuals in the world who combine integrity of purpose with a sufficient measure of cynical wisdom, according to these objectors, are those who refuse to accept the deceitful ideology of a war to organize peace.

This attitude is in part temperamental, but it finds its metaphysical home in a surviving eighteenth-century tradition. The philosophy of absolutes, akin to the religion of absolutes, justifies the complete separation of the ideal and the real. On the one side is clear and final justice, on the other are hard and immutable facts. The world is a place of essential oppositions. God and the Devil, good and evil, unselfishness and selfishness, profit and progress—what have these things to do with each other? If you cleave to the facts you regard the idealist as an amiable person who can be tolerated so long as he does not interfere with the course of events, but who is, alas, impractical. If you cleave to unselfishness you will not sully your soul by making any bargain with one seeking his own interest. He and all his works are bad, now and forever.

It is a truism of speech, but a rarely recognized motive of action, that there is no such disjunction in practice between opposite absolutes. Modern thought has applied searching criticism to these categories and has found them wanting. Modern psychology has probed the unconscious and discovered that motives disguise themselves in all sorts of queer ways. A man working in his own interest may produce a result desirable for others. A man who thinks his motives are pure may do a great wrong. Neither consequence follows inevitably. One who attempts to direct his action solely by the category in which his or anyone's motives lie becomes lost in a maze of contradictory ineffectiveness. From this maze realistic thought seeks to extricate him. It concentrates attention on the result most desired. It casts about for means to approximate that result. It examines those means to see whether they lead to incidental consequences so undesirable that they counterbalance the main object. It makes its decision on the basis of what is likely to happen, and is ready at any moment to revise its means to suit new developments.

To the realist the attitude of both the standpatter and the suspicious pacifist toward the war is supremely irrelevant. He does not distrust the expression of an ideal, if it seems to him likely to translate itself into some kind of desirable reality. He does not become hopeless of that realization because he is aware of selfish motives on the part of people who are taking the action which he for the moment advocates. He has faith in the validity of his purpose, but he is humble as to his means. He does not believe in any necessary opposition between ideals and interests. He knows that unselfish ideals may in the end serve interests, and he knows that interests often serve ideals.

Such an attitude clears up many confusions in thought about the war. Suppose your realist begins with the assumption that what he most desires is a world soundly organized for peace. Suppose he sees that for the moment the greatest obstacle to that organization is the success of Imperial Germany. You may then convince him that Imperial Russia was as much responsible for the beginning of hostilities as was the German Empire—it will make no difference in his decision to fight Germany now. The fixing of guilt is not in itself supremely important to him. You may prove to him that the real motive of many who wanted America to fight was to protect their loans to the Allies—he is nevertheless willing to accept their help. The only way you can shake his resolution is to prove that his object is in danger. You might even show him that the champions of his object were either insincere or did not understand the difficulties in their way. He would regret it, but his judgment of events would rest, not on anyone's state of mind, but on what was likely to happen as a result of that state of mind. If he believed that the resultant of forces would fulfil his purpose, he would not care much whether the leaders he supported understood the process or not. He would not care, either, whether their ruling motive could be called selfish, unselfish, or both.

The primary reason for his equanimity in despite of the hard-headed is the fact that he is working not for "an ideal" in the old sense, but for an object. He has accepted the League of Nations not as a dogma, but as an attainable means of organizing a real situation which he sees to be present in the world. It is to him not something remote and metaphysical, a gesture of generosity, but a measure tending to control and harmonize forces in such a way as to serve the best interests of the people of the United States. It arouses in him a more passionate loyalty than could an exclusive interest or a rarified ideal. He knows that the standpatters are really the impractical men. There is nothing more idealistic and without tangible result than the defense of abstract right or the revenge of injury. There is nothing

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more fatuous with deceitful ideology than the refusal of pacifists to work for a good end because somebody's motives are not pure.

At the same time the realist has his own dangers to fear. He cannot become a romantic partisan. He cannot cast up accounts once for all and then throw himself blindly into relentless action. He must check up his partners as well as his enemies. He cannot let his consciousness of the main obstacle furnished by Germany blind him to the minor obstacles furnished by others. He must make shrewd estimates of probabilities. Having justified himself by his desire for results, he must abide by them—his good intentions count for nothing. He must prevent his purpose from becoming a dogma in his mind; he must not let it float away from the flux of events into the sky of the absolute. Constant analysis and criticism of the stream of consequence is his only safeguard. He has accepted the challenge of things as they are because of his interest in things as they may be. His only life is by intelligence; his only salvation by works.

Government Ownership or Railway Reaction

TEN years ago many of us believed that we had found a solution of the railway problem. Under the law of 1906 we were stamping out the evils of unfair discrimination. We reposed unbounded hopes in the new power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates. What the general traffic could bear or should be made to bear no longer rested with the uncontrolled decision of private railway interests. Rates were to be made reasonable, and this meant that they were to yield a return that would cover the operating expenses together with a fair return on capital. Thus the public was to enjoy rates practically as favorable as the rates that would be fixed by the government if it owned and operated the railways itself. At the same time we thought we were escaping the political responsibilities involved in public ownership, and preserving the advantages, whatever they might be, of private initiative.

To-day we are losing faith in the solution of 1906. It is true that unfair discriminations have practically ceased. It is also true that rates are kept at a limit that is fair enough, from the point of view of the unprivileged masses. The railways that are well managed are making profits that compare favorably with the profits earned by the modest investments of the masses. The railways that are managed ill share the fate of the incautious small investor. But under this apparently fair régime the railways seem not to thrive. We are not building so many railways nowadays as the country needs. We are not conquering grades, eliminating detours with the boldness that marked the height of Harriman's operations. The solution of our terminal problem waits. We are not even acquiring the rolling stock necessary to the fullest possible utilization of our rails.

What is wanting is capital, billions of it. But capital has gone on strike, assert the railway spokesmen. So indeed it seems. Capital has gone on strike against conditions that look to the unprivileged masses as fair. Capital demands such a relaxation of regulation as will offer it the same inducement to go into railways as into other industries. The brilliant achievements of American enterprise, during the last ten years, have been confined to fields free from regulation. Nothing has happened in the way of railway development that can compare with the growth of the automobile and the metal industries. Duplicate the conditions of those industries, and we shall soon see capital flowing in floods into the railways. There will be tracks enough and rolling stock enough to handle any probable expansion of traffic.

The argument is sound, but let us consider what the conditions of unregulated industry are that we are asked to duplicate. In the first place we may safely assert that no unregulated industry ever boomed conspicuously under a régime of moderate profits. If Henry Ford had never made more than seven per cent or ten per cent on his actual investment, the Ford car could not by any possibility have attained to its present ubiquity. If Bethlehem Steel had been held down to a modest profit it would not have become in three years a second and more grandiose Krupps. What is true of big industry is also true of little. If a provincial department store succeeds in enlisting capital to double its plant and stock, you are safe in giving the longest mentionable odds that its past profits and future expectations enormously exceed a " fair " ten per cent. It has always been so in America. Huge profits were the lure that attracted capital into the oil, the steel, the lumber and the coal industries.

In the second place we may safely assert that " attraction of capital " into a booming industry is little more than a figure of speech. Rockefeller and Carnegie did not organize a vast propaganda among investors to secure the capital required for the development of the oil and steel industries. Most of the real capital in those industries originated in the surplus profits of the industries themselves. The same thing is true of Ford Motors and Bethlehem Steel. It is equally true of the

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provincial department store and flouring mill. Not that the ordinary investor refuses absolutely to bite at a mere prospectus. The history of mining promotion offers abundant evidence of the investor's willingness to plunge into the unknown. But the free investment fund is somewhat narrowly limited. It rarely exceeds the absorbing power of capital offerings that have established a reputation for security. The unprivileged masses buy as a rule Steel Corporation shares that represent capital already in the industry. In so doing they release funds in the hands of the original holders and perhaps prepare the way for vast new undertakings. But the general rule holds none the less: a rapidly expanding enterprise is provided with capital out of the vast profits it earns.

Now, are we willing to duplicate these conditions in the railway industry? Do we want to set the huge prizes that private enterprise demands in return for its fullest efficiency? Do we want the railways to collect from us, in rates and fares, the capital required for building and equipment, on which we shall be expected to pay interest and dividends in perpetuity? Incidentally, do we want to return to the industrial and political disorders of a frenzied epoch of railway development? Offer huge prizes, and men will not only work for them; they will fight for them. Under a régime of "fair profits" the railway managers set bounds to their competitive zeal. They are brothers, like Magyar and German faced by common foes. If the oppression of the Interstate Commerce Commission were lifted, it would become worth while for one railway company to seek to aggrandize itself at the expense of other companies. And unless the character of profiteering has greatly changed, railway strategy would avail itself of whatever means, industrial or political, might fall to its hands.

Nevertheless, we must have capital for railway development. If there were no alternative it might be wise to yield to the demands of the railway advocates and permit such profits as may be necessary to break the capital strike. But there is an alternative. The United States government, our financiers are agreed, can raise forty billions, if it must, for the prosecution of the war. In all probability it will not need to raise half this sum for the war; the other half it could devote to the purchase and reëquipment of the railways. No fifteen or twenty per cent profit will be required to attract all the capital needed if the government acts as intermediary. Five per cent, or at most six, would provide capital as liberally as the highest prospect of profit under private ownership.

What of future railway expansion? Is the government to continue issuing new bonds, piling up the national debt mountain high? National debt offset by equivalent productive assets may rise to any height without impoverishing us. But if we choose there is no reason why the government-owned roads should not provide themselves with new capital out of profits, or even sink the original debt from the same source. We shall in effect be taxed to pay such profits, but we shall get our money back in the shape of nationally owned productive property. The private railway companies want to tax us to provide new capital to be owned not by us, but by themselves.

There will be no profits, say the doctrinal opponents of public undertakings. If government operation is more wasteful than private operation —something that is asserted more often than it is proved—will not the increased costs of operation eat up all that is saved through borrowing capital at a lower rate? At present only one dollar out of every five earned by the railways goes to capital as profits. The rest is spent for labor and materials. If the government pays better wages and buys less skilfully—something at any rate conceivable—may not most of that fifth dollar be absorbed? Yes. But let us bear in mind that the railways are not now content with that fifth dollar. They want more, much more; otherwise they cannot end the capital strike and give us the equipment we need.

Government ownership may not give us rates so low as those we now have. Neither will private ownership continue to give us such rates and meet adequately our increasing need for transportation facilities. What we have to choose between is not government ownership and private ownership narrowly regulated and restricted to modest profits. The practical choice lies between government ownership and private ownership largely released from regulation, freely permitted to work and fight for great prizes. And the choice will not be a very difficult one for the American people to make. It is the choice between progress and reaction.

The Government and Organized Labor

BY its timid and temporizing attitude toward the trade unions, the government is rapidly placing Mr. Gompers as the head of the labor committee of the Advisory Commission on National Defense in an impossible position before the rank and file of the organized labor movement. No representative body of trade-union executives in any of the belligerent countries was so prompt to throw the weight of their influence to the side of the government on the declaration of war as Mr. Gompers

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and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Weeks before the President asked Congress to take formal action against Germany, Mr. Gompers called a conference of the executive heads of the principal trade unions and by his skill as a parliamentarian induced them to pledge themselves unanimously to the service of the country. Many of the men who attended this conference had been passionately opposed to America's entrance into the war; some of them were on record as believing in the general strike as a justifiable means of thwarting the prosecution of hostilities. Mr. Gompers was able to persuade them that the President had done everything in his power to keep the country out of war, and that by her revocation of her submarine pledge, Germany was threatening the existence of democracy not only in America, but in the world. The resolution adopted by the conference dispelled some of the gravest anxieties of the administration and the country.

When the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense was organized, Mr. Gompers was made chairman of the Committee on Labor. Believing that the national emergency demanded both the obliteration of past rancors that might interfere with the heightened mobilization of industry and the development of a liberal spirit of coöperation between employers and workers, Mr. Gompers gave equal representation on his committee to employers and trade unionists. He invited to its membership the President of the National Civic Federation, the General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and, as a clinching demonstration of his conciliatory purpose, a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers, the bitterest opponent of organized labor in the country. In organizing his principal sub-committees he followed the same liberal policy. Employers were given equal representation with labor on the Committee on Mediation and Conciliation, the Committee on Wages and Hours, and the Committee on Women in Industry. To the limit of his powers, he sought to lay the foundation of a nation-wide industrial truce.

He naturally assumed that a similar spirit would guide the business men who were placed at the head of five of the six other committees of the Advisory Commission as well as by the physician who was made chairman of the Committee on Medicine and General Sanitation. He assumed that the government would recognize the right of organized labor to be represented on the various special boards created to mobilize industry and speed up production. But nothing of the sort happened. The Committee on Supplies and its sub-committees on cotton goods, on woolen manufactures, on shoes and leather are made up exclusively of manufacturers and business men. Contracts are let with great regard for economy and speed of production, but without any consultation with representatives of the workers as to the probable effect of economy and speed upon them. The Committee on Transportation and Communication is likewise without labor representation. The sub-committees on shipping, on steel and steel products, on nickel and mica and lumber and copper and lead and every other commodity for which the government has entered the market are made up exclusively of bankers and merchants and manufacturers. The same is true of the General Munitions Board, which has received special governmental recognition. By this one-sided arrangement it is made to appear that Mr. Gompers has patriotically pledged himself to restrain the workers from agitating for the conditions of a decent life without securing any guaranties for the protection of labor in return.

Heightened color is given to this appearance of things, which does Mr. Gompers great injustice, by the attitude of the various committees and the departments of government to the complaints of the trade-union men and to their attempts to secure fair coöperative arrangements for the adjustment of grievances. The Executive Board of the Metal Trades Department of the Federation of Labor offered to enter into an arbitration agreement with the Navy Department for the prompt and democratic adjustment of any disputes that might threaten to interfere with the work of the department. Their communication was not even acknowledged. Seventy-five miners who had been employed in certain southern mines were discharged for the sole reason that they were members of the United Mine Workers' Union. The matter was brought to the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Coal Production, with the request that he should make an effort to bring about a fair settlement. With a shrug of the shoulder, the chairman regretted that there was nothing he could do inasmuch as "Those mines do not belong to me." It was at about this time that President White of the United Mine Workers protested that unless his organization was given adequate representation on the Coal Production Committee they would feel compelled to withdraw from the industrial truce. His protest was heeded, but without establishing a precedent for other organized industries. Last week Mr. Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation addressed a letter to the Council of National Defense in which they demanded "direct representation by workers, coequal with all other interests, upon all agencies, boards, committees and commissions entrusted with war work." If America was England this demand would receive serious consideration. There

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the government has entered into an open collective agreement with the trade unions, the unions are officially "recognized," and they expect representation on all war work affecting the standard of labor as a matter of course. But the English labor movement has its own political party; it has its own representatives in Parliament; it has become an integral part of the industrial and political structure of the nation. It remains to be seen whether the business men of America and the administration at Washington will so deal with labor as to compel the organized labor movement to resort to independent political action to protect its proper dignity and its just interests.

But Mr. Gompers and his associates on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor must have learned by this time that mere representation of the workers on the various boards and committees of the Advisory Commission will be insufficient either to protect the interests of the workers or to make the experience and machinery of their organizations effective as instruments for the speeding up of production and the prevention of strikes. The time has come when the government should lay aside its equivocal attitude toward organized labor and openly give preference in the placing of contracts to industries where the men are organized and especially to those in which collective agreements exist. The effect of such a policy would be to restore the injured prestige of Mr. Gompers and his Committee on Labor and to put fresh faith and enthusiasm into the millions of organized workers who are the backbone of American industry. Moreover, it would immediately put at the government's disposal a machinery for the prompt adjustment of grievances such as years of trial and experience are generally required to develop.

Take the situation in the men's clothing industry. The government has gone into the market for tens of thousands of uniforms. The contracts for these uniforms are let through the quartermaster's department in Philadelphia. For some unknown reason, the quartermaster's department has followed the practice of placing most of these contracts with unorganized factories where the cheapest labor is employed and with factories so ill equipped to do the work that their owners have resorted to subcontraction which in turn has spilled over into the tenements. Since the beginning of the war there has been a conspicuous recrudescence of the old sweat-shop conditions which the best manufacturers and the unions have struggled for years to abolish. The quartermaster's department has taken the position that the government is not concerned whether or not union labor is employed. Most of the clothing on government account is manufactured in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and it happens that in these cities approximately 85 per cent of the industry operates under protocol agreements which provide not only for the maintenance of decent labor standards in the establishment of which the manufacturers, the workers and representatives of the outside public have had a voice, but which also provide a highly developed and effective machinery for the modification of standards in times of emergency and the adjustment of industrial disputes. With few exceptions, the factories which have remained outside the scope of collective agreements operate under sub-standard conditions of wages and hours, give the workers no voice in the control of the shop and provide no machinery for the correction of grievances. Yet it is such factories that appear to be getting most of the government contracts to-day with the result that unrest and resentment is rapidly spreading throughout the industry.

Would not the government be following a wiser course if it called into consultation the representatives of the manufacturers' association and the union which control 85 per cent of the industry, made preferential arrangements with them for the execution of government work and made them jointly responsible for the maintenance of uninterrupted production? Why should not the same thing be done in all other industries operating under collective agreements? And where unions exist but are "not recognized," why should not the government lend its influence to the creation of collective agreements in the interest of industrial peace and efficiency? Until something of this sort has been done, the recognition which has been accorded to organized labor by the appointment of Mr. Gompers to the Advisory Commission will remain an empty compliment, a thing of no substance or practical effect.

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EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY FRANCIS HACKETT
PHILIP LITTELL ALVIN JOHNSON
GEORGE SOULE, Assistant Editor
CHARLES MERZ, Washington Representative

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Unity at Washington?

TO say that the administration is grinding on the rocks is surely palpably far from true; but those who say (and who say it often because they wish it and plan it) are now every day fortified with fresh arguments, such as the protracted and really quite aimless delay in arriving at a national policy with regard to the highly immediate question of the price of steel, and such as the recent congressional elections in the first district of New Hampshire and in the sixth district of Indiana—elections in which the Republican candidates were returned to the House of Representatives with doubled and trebled Republican majorities and in which disaffected persons like Mr. Hearst are slinkingly but effectively laboring to persuade their followers to see a repudiation of Mr. Wilson and of the Allies and of the war. In such circumstances, with the enemy always at our gates in the persons of his friends, it may be useful to observe certain broad reasons for public confidence, or for lack of public confidence, suggested by the administration's general conduct of war affairs at Washington.

The spirit of that general conduct, as distinguished from its mechanism, has deserved public confidence convincingly and even touchingly. It speaks with an eloquent tongue in those petty details of daily routine which necessarily are beneath the notice of the Division of Public Information. A young man closes his desk in New York, resigns his salary, repairs to Washington, appears at the War Department and offers himself for service in the medical corps in France as an orderly. The officers who interview him find that he has been occupying an important administrative position in an important business house. They immediately, of their own motion, suggest that he take an officer's commission and attach himself to them in their central administrative task of organizing our medical corps for its tremendously enlarged and difficult service both at home and abroad. Incidents of a contrary type are numerous. Incidents of this type are ten times more numerous. The veils of red tape have been rent and the temple of the bureaucracy has been laid open to the tread of unclean outsiders in a manner almost miraculous and with a hospitality utterly impossible except under the spell of a great devotion.

The final proof of the existence of this purpose and of this devotion is seen in the continuance of the relations established between, on the one hand, the General Munitions Board and the Aircraft Production Board of the Council of National Defense and, on the other, General Crozier's ordnance section and general aviation section in the War Department. Commercial civilian advice in the persons of Mr. Scott and of Mr. Coffin, bureaucratic military execution in the persons of General Crozier and of General Squier, and political civilian ultimate control in the persons of Mr. Baker and of Mr. Wilson are here bidden to lie down together in the same fold anomalously and preposterously. That it continues to be done with a high degree of friendliness and with a very considerable degree of effectiveness is an event to confound the cynics of yesterday. It would have blown away long ago in storms of its own spontaneous internal generation if it had not been sustained by a spirit unknown to us before the war. In evidencing such a spirit, a spirit ample, open, receptive, reciprocative, the administration, throughout its departments, is in process of becoming a genuinely national administration in all those matters of daily routine in which the politician and the bureaucrat and the outside expert must unite to give us a sound and swift handling of the detailed business of warfare.

It is when we turn from its spirit to its mechanism and from the details of its mechanism to the large structure of it that we begin to see the reasons why the administration deserves, and is getting, less public confidence than formerly.

This war is a war to which certain elements in our population are hostile and to which certain other elements yield an only formal support, coerced perhaps permanently but perhaps only temporarily by a formal sentiment of patriotism or by a formal loyalty to the government. We are, at bottom, a divided country. In any divided country, in time of war to-day, one of two things, as a rule, happens. If it is an autocratic country, the government jails and otherwise suppresses the malcontents. In Austria-Hungry the government, being the most fiendish of all civilized governments, has executed the malcontents by thousands and has confiscated their property in order to torture their dependents and intimidate their accomplices. In a democratic country, as in Great Britain and France, which are much less divided, after all, than the United States, the government attempts to combine within itself, by personal representation, all important elements favoring the war in order to present a front as solid and as extended as possible to the various minorities which, for reasons conscientious or for reasons factious or for reasons venal, are opposing the war and are doing

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their best to thwart even its military operations.

In the United States we still have a government by one party. One might almost say that we still have a government by one wing of one party. The conseqences begin already to show themselves. The war is a war brought on not by Congress but by the irresistible influence of the leaders of the Democratic party. Republican victories at the polls set up in the minds not only of certain Republicans but also of certain Democrats the suspicion that perhaps the leader of the Democratic party was permitted to do too much leading. The Republicans, in particular, both Old-Guard Republicans and Progressive Republicans, are in the position of spectators. No one in whom they have been trained by personal party experience to have confidence is close enough to the throne, is deep enough in governmental office, to give them satisfying information and steadying counsel in the sense in which Lord Curzon and Bonar Law can give information and counsel to the Conservatives of England, and Lord Milner information and counsel to the Liberal Unionists, and Arthur Henderson information and counsel to the Laborites under the Home-Rule Liberal Premiership of Lloyd George. The progressives of America (who are still an element though no longer a party) and the Republicans of America are outsiders in America's war in a manner in which no elements containing pro-war members are outsiders in Britain's war or in that of France or in that of Italy.

In Britain, even before the days of " Coalition " and " National " governments, there was at least an agreement among all political parties that whenever a vacancy occurred in any constituency it would be filled by a candidate of the party previously representing that constituency in the House of Commons without contest by candidates of other parties. With us not even that degree of party truce has been reached. In both the first district of New Hampshire and the sixth district of Indiana the congressmen who died were Republicans. The Democratic party made every effort to replace them with Democrats. Party warfare continues. Party advantage is still sought.

From such soil it is not in human nature that mists should not rise of suspicion and of intrigue affecting even the war itself. Party victories achieved with increased majorities against the party that initiated the war provide not only the disaffected but the wavering and the weak of all parties with an insinuating hint that possibly there might be popularity in an anti-war or in a pro-weak-war program. Administrative misfortunes (such as defective shells), which possibly no wisdom could have prevented, are taken, even by the strong, in their ignorance, to be evidences of administrative imbecility. Remoteness, political remoteness, from a President who is also personally a remote man, is now every day widening the gap of misunderstanding between the government and a large part of the population of the United States.

The last touch of danger is added to this situation by the fact that Mr. Wilson is now not only a remote man personally but also a remote man intellectually. If ever the charge of a failure in originative leadership could have been urged against him, the day for doing so has gone by. Since January 22nd of this year he has been further ahead of his people than any other responsible statesman in the world.

In committing the United States to a membership in an International Society, in demanding actual complete war instead of mere romantic " defense " against German violence, and in forcing conscription for service in foreign lands, he carried the people of the United States to a point of development with which they have not even yet thoroughly familiarized themselves; and then, not satisfied, he almost immediately moved out beyond them again—and this time into wide ultimate fields only vaguely discernible to the popular eye—by announcing that permanent peace must be preceded by the revision of the " status quo ante " in Central Europe. That vision of the disruption of Austria-Hungary is to those whom it convinces, as it convinces the writer of these lines, magnificent. To many of those whom it does not convince it is monstrous. To most of the members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate it is a strange glimmer which has suddenly and rather unaccountably begun to flutter on the horizon of the President's mind and which may conceivably turn out to be an oasis of perpetual peace but which may also quite conceivably turn out to be a mirage of sinister unsubstantiality luring the people to adventures of destruction.

The conscientious reporter of opinion at Washington, no matter how devoted he may be personally to the idea of the democratic reconstitution of Central Europe, will find it hard to deny that the President's ultimate and perfected war policy does not command even the comprehension of a majority of even that relatively interested part of the population that dwells in public life.

Remoteness caused by a suddenly expanded war policy, remoteness caused by a continuation of party warfare, these remotenesses constitute one of the two main reasons for the apparent gradual cooling of popular confidence in the administration. The need is acute and instant for a massing of leaders of all political elements into the government in some such fashion as will enable them to transmit to their followers, with authority and with success,

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the full meaning of the administration's purposes and the full spirit of its actions. Till such a massing is accomplished we shall lack one of two indispensable parts in the large structure of the mechanism of a democratic government conducting a war opposed directly or surreptitiously by minorities which it must not jail and must not massacre: we shall lack a unity of national non-party pro-war political understanding and decision.

One of the most experienced and most pro-war politicians in the United States visited Washington the other day and reported that in his judgment a certain western anti-war senator was 100,000 votes stronger in his state now than two months ago. Unity of political decision to-day is not being consolidated. It is rather being disintegrated.

One other sort of unity is indispensable in order to maintain public confidence—unity of administrative decision. This unity we certainly have not reached to the full, unless, indeed, we content ourselves with reflecting that Mr. Wilson, being an individual, is a unitary solution of all administrative problems. The difficulty is that no individual unit, if gifted with Mr. Wilson's extraordinary powers of accommodation, can solve all the major administrative problems of a national capital with a sufficiently impressive promptness.

We have a Council of National Defense. But when Mr. Denman thinks one thing about ships and General Goethals thinks another, they go running alternately to the White House to find out what our national policy about ships may after all be. No national policy is laid down for them beforehand. It is developed only through assaults on the White House succeeding riots in the newspapers and brain-storms in the shipyards.

We have a Council of National Defense. It has a Committee on Coal Production. But the Council of National Defense has no national policy about coal. A member of the Council—Mr. Lane—ventures at last to do something. The Committee on Coal Production ventures also to do something. The price of coal for everybody in the United States is lowered. It is lowered enough to satisfy Mr. Lane's desire for some measure of immediate practical relief. It is not lowered enough to satisfy the desire for a full measure of ultimate scientific relief apparently felt by another member of the Council—Mr. Baker. The coal policy of Mr. Lane is one thing. The coal policy of Mr. Baker is another. The coal policy of the Council of National Defense (and therefore presumably of the Cabinet) is nothing. Mr. Baker publicly repudiates Mr. Lane and thereby kills the authority of the Council and of its committees in the minds of the producers of raw materials, and there is one more job for the overworked undertaker and reconstructor of administrative corpses in the White House.

The price of copper is not settled. Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, as Chairman of the Committee on Raw Materials of the Advisory Commission of the Council, let it get fixed too low, for governmental purchases for munitions, and now he is sorry. The price of steel is not settled. Mr. Baruch let it get fixed too high, for governmental purchases for ships, and now he is sorry again, or ought to be. And there is no prospective authoritative settlement of our national policies regarding either of these prices until they at last wend their tired and tedious way along the *Via Scandalorosa* to the White House.

This is concentration in government unknown at Berlin. The Kaiser would not tolerate it for one imperial instant. That is why he is alive.

Politically and administratively Mr. Wilson needs decentralization. He cannot give us political unity or administrative unity any longer in his own one person. Politically he needs, somehow, in a manner consistent with our native politics, a "Coalition." Administratively he needs an authoritative Defense or War Council. The " Coalition " would bind the nation together. The Council would bind General Goethals and Mr. Denman and Mr. Baker and Mr. Lane and Mr. Baruch and all our other administrators together by policies determined compositely beforehand and then enforced throughout all departments and committees harmoniously.

With those two unities Mr. Wilson's administration would begin to be able to project and deliver an offensive against our enemies, our too numerous enemies, open and secret, at home. To-day, for the first time since Mr. Wilson formed his administration, it is being forced, slowly but manifestly, toward a mere defensive. And the stake is the freedom and safety of the world.

WILLIAM HARD.

Organizing Democracy

"DEMOCRACY will come into its own," said Governor McCall of Massachusetts in his opening address to the constitutional convention of that state, " not when the world is made safe for it, but when it has made itself safe for the world. It can be made safe by endowing it with the necessary organs. . . . Without appropriate organs it would be, as it has so often been, the easy prey of organized privilege; it would tumble about itself and be as helpless with all its strength as the blind Polyphemus."

The opinion that the safety of democracy is dependent upon the organization of democracy is not held in Massachusetts alone. Throughout the

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country the messages of the governors to the legislatures of 1917 were inspired by the same thought. Nearly all the governors advocated the adoption of some form of the executive budget. Many also recommended the establishment of the cabinet system of government in the states. A number urged the further centralization of state administration. A few of these suggestions for the better organization of democracy have already been adopted. Most of them were rejected by the state legislatures. The executive budget, the cabinet system of executive organization, power for the governor to remove sheriffs, prosecuting attorneys and other local law-enforcing officers, when necessary for the proper enforcement of law: such changes in the existing distribution of power mean limitation of the authority of legislatures and impairment of the prestige of local politicians. The former, directly, the latter, indirectly, were blows aimed at the very bodies to which the governors' suggestions were offered. It is not surprising that few of these suggestions were acceptable to them. From reluctant legislatures the advocates of reorganization turned to more disinterested instruments. Already in 1916 constitutional conventions had been authorized by the people of two states. Since the beginning of the present year eight more states have turned in the same direction. As Mr. W. A. Robinson aptly phrased it in The New Republic for March 3rd, "We are about to enter an era of reconstruction and reform comparable to that through which municipalities have passed since 1900."

There can be no doubt that the governments of our cities are now on the whole more wisely organized and more efficiently administered than those of our states. The worse is set in authority over the better. Little wonder that the demand grows apace for large powers of home rule for cities. Or that more than a third of the states have empowered the voters to legislate directly by means of the initiative and referendum. These remedies are good within proper limits. Duly safeguarded, so that local or casual majorities of voters may not override the general will of the state, municipal home rule and direct legislation by the people will relieve overburdened legislatures of uncongenial tasks. They will permit a freer and more effective expression of public opinion. They will tend to purify the atmosphere of representative government. But too much cannot be expected from changes that merely limit the power of the people's representatives. Representative government is not to be regarded as an evil, to be tolerated only within the narrowest possible limits. Those states which have proceeded most consistently upon that theory have not secured the best governments. Restricting legislators to activity only once in four years or only forty days at a time is a remedy that would cure the disease by the killing of the patient. The goal of the reformer must be, not to prevent the legislatures from legislating badly, but to permit them to legislate well.

Nineteenth-century reformers may have prescribed an inadequate remedy, but they correctly diagnosed the disease. The failure of the state legislatures to take a national view of national questions was the chief cause of the collapse of the first constitutional government of the United States, the government under the Articles of Confederation. The failure of the state legislatures to take a state-wide view of state questions has been the greatest bane of state politics ever since. Elihu Root proved himself no infallible guide in problems of state government, but his indictment of the legislature was as sound as it was forcible. "We found," he declared in his valedictory address to the New York constitutional convention of 1915, "that the legislature of the state had declined in public esteem and that the majority of the legislators were occupying themselves chiefly in the promotion of private and local bills, of special interests, . . . upon which apparently their reëlections to their positions depended, and which made them cowards and demoralized the whole body." No plan for the better organization of democracy is adequate which does not propose such a reform of the representative part of the government as will ensure the predominance of state-wide over local interests.

Now the people of a state are not wholly dependent upon any one set of representatives. They are represented by localities through the members of the legislature. They are represented as a whole by the chief executive and, in most states, by the supreme court. The entire legislative power is not conferred upon any one of these sets of representatives. It is divided between them. It is, to be sure, primarily and mainly conferred upon the legislature, so-called. But in all states both the governor and the supreme court have a more or less important part in the law-making power. The governor's duty of recommending measures to the consideration of the legislature and his power of vetoing objectionable acts make him a more conspicuous holder of legislative power than any other member of the state government. The courts exercise within their peculiar sphere a less conspicuous but even more effective power of legislation. Nineteenth-century reformers indeed placed an excessive reliance upon the courts to check the flow of undesirable laws. The twentieth century is suffering the consequences of their indiscretion

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through the judicial nullification of important measures for reasons of policy of which the people do not approve or, regardless of their merits, for merely technical defects. The most promising plan for the better organization of representative government is to give a larger share in the process of legislation to that part of the government which best represents the people as a whole. This part is not the legislature. It is not the judiciary. It is the executive. The governor, as state government stands to-day, has the strongest claim to the right to voice the general will of the people of the whole state.

So far as concerns the division of power between the legislature and the coordinate departments, the best organized government in the world to-day is that of the French Republic. It is the European government which has best withstood the shock of war. It successfully performs that most difficult task of legislation, the technical task of so framing the law that it shall be enforceable, that it shall actually give effect to the purpose of the law-maker. It is a significant fact that the legislation of a country where there are few specific constitutional limitations upon legislative power, where there is little reliance upon popular voting and judicial decision to check the flow of undesirable laws, compares in this respect so favorably with that of the American states. The explanation is not far to seek. It lies in the practical monopoly of the initiative in legislation which has been acquired by the executive branch of the government. In France all important measures are first determined upon by the executive. They are then drafted and the grounds for their adoption elaborated by administrative officials. They are finally introduced into the legislature on behalf of the executive and their further progress supervised by its agents. A similar, though in some respects inferior, procedure is followed in England and Germany. In Switzerland, the most democratic of European countries, it is customary for the legislature first to invite the executive to prepare a measure of a certain character, but thereafter the further proceedings follow upon the responsibility of the executive. A practical executive monopoly of the initiative in legislation is to be found in all the great and well governed countries of the world except our own.

An executive monopoly of the initiative in legislation would have important consequences upon the conduct of state government, even if no other change were made in the existing state constitutions. First, it would ensure greater care in the preliminary studies that should precede all constructive legislation and in the original preparation of the bills themselves. The bills which would thus be introduced into the legislatures would be far more nearly perfect technically than under the present conditions, and the administration on whose behalf they might be introduced would be definitely responsible for the policies embodied in them. Secondly, an executive monopoly of the initiative in legislation would greatly diminish the number of bills introduced into the legislatures. It would increase the relative importance of those that were introduced. It would secure for each a greater degree of legislative attention. The bills which would thus be considered by the legislatures would have to run the gauntlet of a much more systematic and efficient opposition than under present conditions and the leadership on both sides would be fully exposed to public view. In short, such a change in the division of power between executive and legislature would correct the worst evils in American legislative procedure.

But a monopoly of any sort is abhorrent to the spirit of American institutions. Certainly no plan of reorganization in state government is practicable which proposes to confer a monopoly in the initiation of legislation upon the governor. In those states where long-standing distrust of representative bodies has finally led to the destruction of the original legislative monoply in the initiation of legislation and to the adoption of effective procedure for the initiation of legislation also by the voters themselves, a plan for setting up a new monopoly would not be listened to. But it is practicable to give the governor such a share in the initiation of legislation as will secure many of the advantages obtained in other countries by the practical monopoly which has been acquired by the executive. It is practicable to give him the right to introduce bills into the legislature and to appear in the halls of legislation and explain the purpose and propriety of his proposals, or to send others to speak for him. It is practicable to provide that he shall frame and introduce the bills for the appropriation of public money and to limit the right of ordinary members to introduce appropriation bills not sanctioned by the governor. Once the way has been prepared for more spirited executive leadership, capable executives can be trusted to take advantage of their opportunity to make the general public interest predominate over the conflicting private and local interests in the legislatures.

The Massachusetts constitutional convention of 1917 has a splendid opportunity to inaugurate the new era in state government. It is not inappropriate that this opportunity should come to Massachusetts. The existing Massachusetts constitution was the last of the thirteen original state constitutions to be framed, and at the time it was

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adopted it was the best. It contributed more to the present constitution of the United States and thereby to the development of constitutional government throughout the country than any other of the original constitutions. It is now the oldest written constitution in the world. But it never was perfect, and it is now less suited to the condition of the people than ever before. "Some men," wrote Jefferson in his old age, "look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant—too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to it and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present but without the experience of the present . . . I am certainly not an advocate of frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. . . . But I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind." There are many changes in the organization of state government which would make democracy a more difficult prey for organized privilege, but none is more important than this: to give to the executive a larger share in the initiation of legislation.

ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE.

The Night Train from Amiens

IN le Matin which I bought from a little girl in the sloping square before the Gare de Paris I first saw in type Wilson's battle cry, "Make the world safe for democracy," and thrilled to it, as I suppose did most Americans. It was not until an hour or two later that it occurred to me that those ringing words may in reality have sounded the knell of democracy.

It happened this way. I found myself in a second-class compartment with three soldier-philosophers. You have never heard of them and I myself cannot now remember their names. One was a citizen of Germany, another was a citizen of France, and the third was a citizen of Belgium. The first was a forty-year old Alsatian who had fled across the border in 1914 and joined the French army; the second was a stretcher bearer who had formerly been a music-hall singer; and the third was an aristocratic young Belgian officer. There was also an ill mannered young French cadet from the artillery school near Havre, who had his own views on democracy and shouted them to us through his cupped hands if anyone happened to be talking when thoughts occurred to him.

At first they mistook me for an English officer, and left me to my paper. The three who were in French uniform divided some white wine and oranges, while the Alsatian exposed, with gesture, the decadence of the times, with particular reference to the society manners of wealthy young French girls. The imitation of a demoiselle serving afternoon tea, as presented by this scarred old corporal whose uniform was caked with Somme mud, before long thawed the reserve of the Belgian lieutenant, who was led to talk of the first days of the German invasion. He was not then in the army, and was living at his country home near Liége. He had gone out in his automobile to help with the wounded. He had seen the Germans march into his country, and had traversed the ruin they had left behind. He had even passed back and forth through the German lines carrying wounded and destitute civilians. They had not molested him, he said. I expected to hear first-hand of atrocities, but it seems that in those first days they were too busy with Liége. It was the marvelous array of the German army that seemed to have impressed him most. "Incroyable! Magnifique! . ." he said again and again.

Later on the talk drifted to socialism and the Internationale. I was delighted to hear them unanimously condemn the latter organization, principally upon the belief that it had been inspired by the Kaiser as a means of disarming France before the arrival of the Day.

I then asked the Alsatian corporal if he had read Wilson's address, and pointed with some pride to the phrase about democracy. He looked at the sentence thoughtfully for a moment and then passed it to his friend, the former music-hall singer, who nodded and smiled without any great enthusiasm. Finally the corporal spoke—

"Is it worth while then, to make the world safe for democracy?"

"What I want to know," threw in the stretcher bearer, "*is democracy safe for the world?*"

"What is wrong with it, in your opinion?" I asked.

"In your lifetime," he replied, "you have seen monarchy after monarchy fail, n'est ce pas?"

I nodded.

"And because they have ennobled and enriched the few at the expense of the weak—no? Now, m'sieu, in what respect is democracy any improvement on a monarchy? You should know. You come from the world's greatest democracy."

After a moment's hesitation I replied: "Democracy has this virtue—each of the many has the opportunity to become one of the few."

This did not seem to impress him as a virtue of any great importance.

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"It is always the strong who rule—" he said, "who become rich—who are happy, whether it be in France, or America, or England, or Germany. Monarchy or democracy, it makes no difference. It is the ambition of the strong for themselves or for their country that makes the war. They have the same fault at bottom—if monarchies must fail, why should democracies endure?"

"I will tell you what is wrong with democracy," interjected the Alsatian corporal. "It is the Champs Elysées of individualism. It is the playground of the ego. Everybody grabs what he can, and the strongest grabs the most."

"If democracy is worth nothing," I asked, "with what will you replace it?"

They did not answer.

"With an emperor!" shouted the young cadet suddenly. "You are not fit to govern yourselves, and you confess it. Besides, I have heard my father say, had we an emperor we should now be in Berlin."

They ignored him.

"We will replace it," said the Alsatian at last, "with a new order . . . call it socialism, communism, or what you like, but be sure, m'sieu, it will not be monarchy, democracy, or individualism. There will be no place in the world for democracy after the war. . .

"Listen, m'sieu. For the first time in the history of the world nations have gone to war *as a whole*. You have seen Germany mobilized to the last man, woman and child. You have seen the same thing in France and England—everyone bent to the yoke without regard to personal desire . . except a few sales embusqués who have bought themselves bureau positions in Paris.

"Cochons!" snapped the stretcher bearer.

"Be sure that the young men in the trenches, and the young women in the munition factories, know now what communism means. They are performing the service to which the state commands them. They receive the same six sous per day, the price of ten cigarettes. They eat the same food. They obey the same commands, and live in the same hovels and ditches. The value of his life, and your life, and my life, is now reduced to the same figure, and what is the figure, hein?" He held up the finger with which he had been pointing to us. "Just that, m'sieu . . . a very small 1. We are so many little blue units, whom France exchanges for so many hectares of bloody terrain. You and I may have considered our lives precious things . . to the state they are worth a metre of enemy trench."

"We fight on though," explained the stretcher bearer, lest I get a false impression. "La France, quand même!"

"Yes, to the end!" explained the corporal. "But the end, at the end . . . what then? Shall we forget these three years? Shall we turn the country for which we have bled, nous autres, back to the politicians, back to the capitalists, back to your democratic aristocrats who ride through the boulevards in automobiles? Who saved the country?—to whom does France belong? It belongs to us who fought—to the women who labor in munition factories—to the peasants who support the orphans of dead friends. France is *ours* now, m'sieu!"

He struck his chest with a wide gesture, and pride shone in his eyes.

"C'est vrai. C'est vrai," interjected the stretcher bearer tensely. "And do not forget," he added, "that war has taught us how to govern the country that is ours. We have for three years been trained for the new order. We have lost our individualities, our foolish desires, our envies. What we want is peace, and to see no more of death and poverty and suffering. We have learned to share—as Verlaine says—even our happiness and our tears. . ."

"If I were a socialist," exclaimed the corporal, "I should not strive to stop the war. I should not want to go to Stockholm. Now that America is engaged I should want to see it fought to the ghastly end. I should hope for the mobilization of every citizen of America, and for the confiscation of every farm, factory and railroad. I should hope to see millions of Americans in the trenches. For then, when peace came, we should find the machinery ready, and the people trained, for socialism—just as in Europe."

"But are you not a socialist?" I asked.

"Who knows? . ." he shrugged. "I am only a believer in a new order. I leave it to wiser heads than mine to define it."

"May I say a word?" interrupted the gentle voice of the Belgian lieutenant.

"Monsieur?"

"What you have said, messieurs, interests me very much. I believe I may say that I am a member of that class which you describe as democratic aristocrats. You seem still to feel a certain antagonism toward them. Eh bien . . . continue, for it is with that class that you will have to deal after the war."

They listened to him attentively.

"There are some of us," he went on, "who have also shared the six sous, the mud of the trenches, and your suffering. There are many of us whose fortunes are all gone. We too have learned to share. And to share with a smile. You will find many of us who will meet you half way—and more. Of course we Belgians may not agree with you as to the form of government . . .

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we love our king. But in the essentials I too believe that your new order is to arrive. . . . I hope so. And I trust that the adjustment will be one of reason, for after all—it is our country too."

He smiled, and settled himself in his corner with a novel.

"Camarade," said the old corporal, raising his bottle of white wine, "Salut!"

After I had returned to America, and had seen upon every billboard the slogan, "Make the world safe for democracy," this conversation recurred to me again and again.

In America we have the last bulwark of individualism, which is synonomous with democracy as we know it, and the storm of war has at last broken against it. Already Wilson's first war measures have set about undermining it from within. The draft proceeds and 10,000,000 men are no longer free individuals, but units of a community assigned for an arbitrary purpose. The excess income and profit taxes are on the books and a man's private fortune is now to a large degree subject to the call of the state. How long a stride is this toward fixing the sum which any man may earn? Already control, veiled as polite requests, has been exercised over factories and railroads. Already a vast army of men and women have voluntarily given up selfish aims and pleasures to give their best services to the state. These are heavy blows at individualism—huge chips from the rank growth of American democracy.

We are having our first lessons from the teacher War, and we will soon send several million young men to Europe to learn the lesson first hand. They will have seen the labyrinths of Europe cleared for the new order . . . "call it socialism, communism, or what you please." They will swing the same broadax. Will their clearing be sowed for the same crop?

CHARLES LAW WATKINS.

Conscription in Quebec

THE Canadian Expeditionary Force has suffered its full share of casualties, and the question of retaining it at its original strength has involved the Dominion in a perplexing problem. In Sir Robert Borden's judgment the problem admits of only one solution; and that is a measure of selective conscription to be put into effect at once. Before he went to London to attend the Imperial War Cabinet, the Conservative leader had recognized the determined current of opinion against any form of compulsory service. Without committing himself definitely upon the point, he had rather created the impression that conscription was only a very remote possibility. After sharing in the deliberations of the Imperial War Cabinet Sir Robert returned to Ottawa in May, convinced of the urgency of an immediate selective draft. Whether or not he was too abrupt in disclosing his intentions; whether or not he should have taken Sir Wilfrid Laurier into his counsel before proposing a measure to Parliament, are now both obsolete questions. Conscription was proposed; its consideration had to be postponed while negotiations were under way for a coalition government; coalition failed; and party lines were crossed preparatory to a temporary alignment of conscriptionists and anti-conscriptionists. The opposition which had been anticipated developed in all its characteristic manifestations, and the Dominion revealed in a striking manner the utter disjunction between the French and the English elements of its population.

French Canada is a complex phenomenon. In spirit it seems never to have been an integral part of the empire, but rather a distinct nationality, enduring British rule under jealously guarded privileges. Though French in language, its spiritual ties with France were severed at the Revolution; and the plight of France, which moves English-speaking Canada to the depths, never for a moment disturbs the equanimity of ultramontane Quebec. Hemmed in by English-speaking fellow subjects it has withdrawn behind its linguistic rampart and resisted anglicisation in thought, speech and mental outlook with a vehemence that never relaxes in intensity. Spiritually French Canada and English Canada meet on no common ground. And French Canada's parochial isolation—while its picturesque quality is undeniable—does nevertheless provoke a strange discord in a Dominion that treasures above everything the British connection. It will always be a matter of deep regret that French Canada viewed the outbreak of the war with a detachment that chilled sympathy with the purposes of the Allies, and placed an untoward construction upon the Dominion's participation in the conflict. It would be uncharitable, however, to suggest any interpretation of this apparent attitudinizing other than to attribute it to an ingrained habit of thought that could scarcely react in any other way. And no one can understand the Dominion who overlooks this essential contrariety and cleavage between its two races, and the dissimilarity of their instinctive action in a common crisis. While, broad-

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ly speaking, the Dominion appears to be a federation of provinces, in some respects it is more fundamentally a federation of disparate nationalities; and the present juncture is disclosing its real character.

Voluntary enlistment throughout the Dominion began at a time when in Ontario a race issue, involving the schools and the French language, was becoming acute. To the French in Quebec the action of the Ontario school authorities seemed, rightly or wrongly, convincing evidence of a determination to withstand the spread of French influence. There was accordingly a disposition to feel that the war spirit, aflame with the wrongs of minor nationalities elsewhere, might prove its sincerity by keeping to fair play with the smaller nationality at home. Further, the recruiting campaign, as far as French Canada was concerned, seemed to alienate rather than win support. Its ignoring of ecclesiastical sensitiveness, its crude approach towards a community traditionally mistrustful, have been strongly alleged and strongly denied both in and out of Parliament. Although it is known that the control of public opinion in Quebec is regarded by the clergy as their special prerogative, clerical influence, it would seem, was never enlisted in the right way; and, if current rumor be true, it has maintained a somewhat indifferent neutrality towards even the supreme issues of the war. Again, the spell and glamour of the conflict have dissolved away before a cold traditional prepossession of the French mind against the British imperialist temper, and an incisive penetration of its less defensible intentions. A strain, too, of legalism, brought to bear upon the extreme transatlantic feeling of detachment from Europe, goes to confirm French opinion in the practice of isolation, and leads it to oppose the action of the state in entering the struggle with a meticulous constitutional criticism. Morally, then, French Canada has responded to the war appeal by a decree of nullification. With regret, if without resentment, it has to be admitted that French Canada has at this critical juncture dissociated itself from the rest of the Dominion—and while its little handful of fourteen thousand volunteers have gained splendid distinction at the front, beside the large army recruited from the rest of the country they seem almost a reproach to their compatriots.

A Dominion-wide conscription therefore is condemned in advance: not on its military merits; not from Liberal timidity in resorting to a compulsory service; not even from the pacifist disinclination towards fighting, for the French Canadian can be a wonderful soldier; but for reasons best known to those who guide and direct the undercurrent of an irreconcilable nationalism.

Sir Robert Borden probably counted the cost and weighed his heavy responsibility before committing his party to a selective draft; and the party, with the slight conscriptionist majority at its disposal, and even in view of the failure of the two political leaders to form a coalition for that purpose, is bent upon placing a conscription measure at least on the statute book. Its ultimate enforcement cannot at the present be foretold. It will be put into effect at all costs if Sir Robert Borden can keep his party in power: otherwise its enforcement is problematical. For party whips are anticipating a probable general election before November. At this moment it is difficult to see how an election can be avoided. If the Liberal amendment proposing a referendum be carried against the Conservatives, they may go to the country. Should the amendment fail and Sir Robert Borden's bill pass, the Liberals seem to have it in their power to force a general election by refusing to agree to a further extension of the present Parliament. For the house now sitting was elected as far back as 1911. Its statutory duration expired in 1916. But the Imperial Parliament, after being assured that both parties approved, set aside the statutory duration of five years by extending the present Parliament for one year. That limit expires in the autumn. The Imperial Parliament might conceivably, on the representation of the Conservatives alone, renew the continuation for one year further. But it would be a doubtful procedure. If then Sir Wilfrid Laurier does not agree to a further extension of the present Parliament, a general election must ensue. It will clear the air of much bitter recrimination over outstanding party issues. It will also dispel the doubt as to whether or not the majority in the Dominion are in earnest about the ultimate right of the state, in time of war, to insist that national distinctiveness shall be no valid plea for avoiding the common burden of a necessary service.

C. E. Fryer.

CORRESPONDENCE

Conscientious Objector Replies

SIR: In your issue of June 16th, Mr. Arthur O. Lovejoy addresses a very thoughtful letter to conscientious objectors in reply to a statement by certain of their number. Will you permit a brief reply from one of the objectors who speaks for himself only?

I regret sincerely that the former statement conveyed to Mr. Lovejoy an impression of a "tone of assured and condescending moral superiority." None of us desires to claim "a monopoly of moral idealism" or to deny it to men of the past or of the present who have heroically given all they have, even life itself, in behalf of principles that they hold dear. Perhaps some measure of forgiveness may be granted our unintentional offense in the manner of our statement when one considers it as the reaction of men

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who scarcely live through a day without hearing themselves and those who share their beliefs stigmatized as cowards, slackers, anti-social, or, to quote Mr. Lovejoy, men who "are playing an unpleasantly parasitic part in the history of human progress."

But even if we had not provoked Mr. Lovejoy's rebuke for this "ineffably modest argument" the real issues, as he recognizes, would remain. Shall the conscientious objector be tolerated? Is his position "ethically indefensible"?

1. It is a bit difficult to generalize about the conscientious objector, because he is of many types. His position is based sometimes on religion, sometimes on social theory, sometimes as Bertrand Russell says, on "common sense." In any case he is a pacifist but not a "passivist." He emphatically holds a theory of life which demands thought, action and organized goodwill. He is persuaded that there are means, in the present stage of human development, which will in the long run serve ideal ends and promote human progress far more rapidly and involve less sacrifice than war. His God does not have to be saved by the devil's means. Rather He waits to aid men who will try His ways. It is true that since the only way of overcoming evil the world has followed on any considerable scale is the way of war, men can always say of any particular liberty that it was won by war. Yet even so the little company of the martyrs whose most glorious figure is that Jesus whom some of us still call Lord and Master, has counted more for human progress than great armies of brave soldiers. And how slow and imperfect has been the method of progress by battle. What terrible evils have followed even the noblest wars! One imperialism has gone, another has arisen. All the centuries of wars have brought us to this end! Violence has not cast out violence. It is not therefore that the conscientious objector sees no "human good sufficiently important to be worth fighting for." It is that to him fighting *by the method of war* inevitably denies the highest good that is sought. Oppression might go armed yet be finally defeated by liberty, defenseless save for the power of thought, the might of ideas and the exercise of goodwill (there is even a resistance of economic organization which is not war as we know it). Grant that this is an assumption . . . so is the opposite of which Mr. Lovejoy is so sure. To believe it may not be wise, it is certainly not ignoble; and it is a somewhat hysterical wartime psychology which calls it "ethically indefensible" and "anti-social" or compares the anti-vivisectionist protest against experimentation on animals with this objection to participation in the inconceivable barbarism of a war so horrible that its evils are beyond description by the most realistic pen.

2. But once the nation has decided on the method of war, is not the objector who refuses to serve playing an "unpleasantly parasitic" if not an actually disloyal part? Be it remembered that he has not asked other men to fight for him, he has urged another course and has been willing to accept the risks. For him this war imperils far more than it can save. Now that war is joined, he is emphatically not intriguing against the government, or practising political obstruction or dissuading other men from following their conscience into war. Never did he love his country more or more truly desire her to advance the glorious cause of democracy and brotherhood as against cruelty and autocracy; but for himself he believes he cannot really serve his country or the ideals which are the soul of his country if he denies his conscience. He is a citizen of two fatherlands, and his supreme allegiance is to the City of God. He cannot escape the convictions that he betrays not merely or chiefly his own soul, but his country and mankind, if he puts the lower loyalty in place of the higher. He knows no higher duty than thus to bear witness to truth as he sees it. And meanwhile he seeks, not as a conscript, but as a free citizen to do all in his power to serve his fellowmen in works of mercy, the upbuilding of life, steadfast devotion to ideals of liberty often menaced at home and discussion of the terms of a just and democratic peace. Call him if you will a fool or a fanatic (history has reversed many such judgments); but in simple justice admit that he is not a slacker or a parasite.

3. Even if I am mistaken in my high estimate of the character and devotion of genuine conscientious objectors, the question of tolerance is not a mere matter of offhand gracious consideration for an inconsiderable group as Mr. Lovejoy implies. Democracy involves the right of men to be mistaken. The question at issue is not what would have happened in sixteenth century Europe if lovers of liberty had been extreme pacifists (they at least were not conscripts), but what will happen in twentieth century America in a war for "the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience" if the state coerces a man to do that which is in violation of his convictions. This right of a man to decide for himself vital questions of right and wrong is absolutely fundamental to democracy, to religion, and to progress. To deny it is to prove recreant to American traditions and to attempt to conquer Germany by yielding to the Prussian spirit. In a world caught in the agony of this war, the sufferings of a particular conscientious objector may not greatly arouse us, but lovers of liberty whatever their attitude to war or to this particular war must feel grave concern lest America desperately wound that priceless possession of freedom of conscience which has guided exiles in all generations to her shores and made her the hope of the nations. Men who are sure that this is a war for democracy and that the conscientious objector is wrong cannot so distrust the people as to believe that the autocratic method of coercion of conscience is either necessary or defensible. This is not a matter of "generous tolerance" but of a democratic right.

NORMAN THOMAS.

New York City.

Britannica on Trieste

SIR: Your editorial, Italia Irredenta, in its examination of Italy's claim to Trieste, speaks of the preponderating Slovene element in Istria and the vital importance of Trieste as a port for Austria-Hungary as reasons against Italian possession of it.

While one feels doubtful to quote from the Encyclopedia Britannica after reading Mr. Willard Huntington Wright's denunciation of it, two very important historical facts, one ancient and the other modern, in favor of Trieste being retained by Austria are contained in the Britannica's article, viz.: "After Trieste's capture by Venice in 1203 the next 150 years of its history consist chiefly of a series of conflicts with that city, which were finally put to an end by Trieste placing itself under the protection of Leopold of Austria in 1382"; and also, "During the Italian and Hungarian revolutions Trieste remained faithful to Austria and received the title of Citta Fidelissma."

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Italian irredentists seem to be curiously ignorant of this interesting bit of history.

SCHUYLER N. WARREN, JR.

New York City.

Pot-Boiling

SIR: The question of writing for money, referred to in a recent article in your department, Books and Things, is so important that I do not find myself able to refrain from suggesting that some things have still been left unsaid. Mr. Hugh Walker, in his volume, The English Essay and Essayists, remarks (page 266): "The question of pot-boiling is one from which the literary man can no more escape than the laundry-woman; and the machinery of publication whereby the indispensable fuel is supplied has to be seriously considered in connection with the history of literature. The nineteenth century was as much subject to this necessity as the eighteenth; but it had resources which were undeveloped then."

The plain fact is, of course, that it is no more disgraceful to earn a living—or the five or ten thousand a year which constitutes more than a mere living—by writing than by running a grocery or a bank, or by engaging in the gentlemanly but unproductive (for society) occupation of gambling on the Stock Exchange—an occupation which I believe most professors of political economy condemn. Pope, when he said that Shakespeare "for gain, not glory, winged his roving flight," exaggerated; for what Shakespeare really did was to please his audience, even the "groundlings" in the pit, while preserving all his own important ideals. He always, however, had a lively sense of what the average person wants; and he crowded his plays with complications of plot because the Elizabethan playgoers wanted story primarily. And there is pretty good indication that a dramatic audience still wants just that. Ben Jonson generally failed to give enough of it; and Ben Jonson was a comparatively unpopular playwright. Only persons wholly "unspotted by the world" are so innocent as to suppose that Shakespeare or any other great writer who was also a popular writer wrote merely to please himself. Even Horace, who hated the vulgar herd and kept them at a distance, did not succeed (one queries whether he tried) in becoming wholly unpopular; and Mr. Franklin P. Adams presents every now and then, in his genial tower of humor in the New York Tribune, an imitation of Horace which pleases us of the vulgar herd to-day.

Let us have done, therefore, with that snobbish nonsense which affirms that a literary man should have no "commercialism" in his make-up; that he should be willing to starve to death like a gentleman. On the contrary, every writer should remember—as Shakespeare did—that he is writing for an audience; and, as Shakespeare did, he should visualize that audience. If he wishes to benefit mankind, he must make himself intelligible and interesting. Shakespeare did both. Whatever else he did—and these things were many and glorious—was "good measure," heaped up and running over. Here was "God's plenty."

A writer may be too original, too far in advance of conventional taste or ideas, to attain immediate popular success; but *he is never too good to attain it,* provided, like Shakespeare again, he studies his public and makes great art serve humanity. The Wordsworths, the Merediths, the Gissings are the exceptions rather than the rule. And if many a successful author had first to endure a long and ill paid apprenticeship of ten or twenty or thirty years, is it not true that many a millionaire in the commercial world had a similar struggle—a struggle, moreover, without the reward of literary immortality? Of what other worker can it be said so truly as of the author that, when in the narrow room he rests from his labors, his works do follow him? And if, in addition, he can earn an honest living by his pen before his hair turns gray, and can do it without pandering, so much the better. "Be good, and you will be lonesome," said Mark Twain; but he would hardly have agreed that, in order to be a good writer, one must be unpopular. Would that there were a second Thackeray to write us a Book of Literary Snobs! Meanwhile, let us remember Leslie Stephen's refreshing remark, "It is doubtful whether those who aspire to a finer taste than is possessed by the vulgar herd are really so keenly appreciative as the innocent reader of published remarks might suppose. Hypocrisy in matters of taste—whether of the literal or metaphorical kind—is the commonest of vices."

HARRY T. BAKER.

Urbana, Illinois.

International Reconstruction Corps

SIR: There are thousands of men of conscriptable age in the United States who will refuse to fight under any circumstances. Twenty-five thousand who style themselves "conscientious objectors" are registered with various organizations.

Not even the government knows what will be done with these men. High officials in the War Department at one time asked for concrete suggestions as to their treatment, and representatives of organizations interested in them proposed a plan similar to that adopted in England, where various forms of non-combatant service or "work of national importance" were open to those who refused to bear arms. Semi-official statements from Washington indicate that the War Department has rejected this plan and that conscientious objectors who resist draft will be placed under arrest in an internment camp.

The conscientious objectors are a heterogeneous group. Among them are religious fanatics and idealists, radicals of varying grades and shades of opinion, and a large group of practical idealists who think killing Germans irrelevant to the issue of achieving a greater degree of democracy the world around.

To open to such men an opportunity for service which is both constructive and international, it is proposed to organize an International Reconstruction Corps to go into the devastated regions of Europe and help rebuild and reorganize the homes and the hopes of their people. In such work men resolved not to aid in the waging of war could, in meeting a present need, help lay a foundation of international goodwill for the future.

There are war-scarred villages to-day in which dwell only underfed children who have forgotten how to play and discouraged women and old men who have seen too much of war to have the energy or the courage to set about rebuilding. They need the enthusiasm and faith of youth.

In France, Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Rumania, South Russia and Armenia millions are homeless. To rebuild these homes and help restore the shattered lives of these peoples will be a task for the coöperation of the whole world. To-day the United States is beginning such work behind the new lines in France.

This work of restoration can be only a beginning so long as hostile troops still occupy conquered soil. Perhaps with peace an army of thousands of young men and women

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from all over the world will give itself to this world-need. In the meantime a cornerstone of the rebuilding can be laid, and perhaps it is well that this be undertaken by men and women with no hate in their hearts.

The Quakers, whose traditional opposition to military service is recognized by law, have already organized such a unit to go to France. May not those whose objection to war, although not recognized by law, is equally sincere, have the same opportunity to realize their international ideal in service?

For a nation to go to war to aid another is a step beyond that selfish mere neutrality which neither pacifist nor militarist could admire; for a nation, in wartime or in peacetime, to send its young men and women across the sea to help rebuild another for peace, is a further step. It may become the cornerstone of that international coöperation to which all sane men look forward. It is a work which breathes life into many old dreams. Perhaps it will be the beginning of some such moral equivalent of war as William James foresaw.

To share in this greater work might become the privilege of men unwilling to take life. It is true that they would thus miss the danger of the front-line trenches. Scoffers would sneer at them as cowards. They might not be able to persuade these scoffers of the largeness of their vision, but they could at least demonstrate the genuineness of their idealism by offering to enlist for the duration of the war and one year thereafter. Without such a safeguard they might find thronging to their ranks some less anxious to give themselves to international service than to escape the horrors of bayonet-points.

Such a group of conscientious objectors, in offering itself to the government for this service, and this service alone, would make as definite a protest against war and enforced military service as by going to jail. They might obtain a better understanding. And instead of idling in jail, they would be engaged in labor which is both forward-looking and international.

The Civilian Branch of the Red Cross has undertaken the reconstruction work in France (and has promised to set aside some of its funds for that purpose), and it will undoubtedly extend its work into the other devastated areas when the opportunity opens. Under its auspices the Quaker unit will start work within a few weeks. Were a similar unit of conscientious objectors to offer themselves in this immediate and pressing need, it would seem a foolish and short-sighted waste of youthful idealism to refuse them the one opportunity without loss of self-respect.

Such an International Reconstruction Corps is in process of organization. The plan is to form an Advisory Committee of men of standing who are in sympathy with its general purpose, and an Executive Committee of men willing to serve in the Corps or help actively in its organization.

The Corps is "for men of conscriptable age unwilling to take life but unafraid of hard work or danger in the service of their country and mankind, who pledge themselves to continuous service in the Corps for the period of the war and at least one year thereafter." It would "provide an opportunity for service for men who cannot conscientiously do military or naval service, but are not cowards, slackers or loafers."

The first need is to know how many men are ready to volunteer for such service. Men interested are asked to write to

L. S. GANNETT, 27 West 44th Street, New York City.

Exemption of Artists

SIR: Here in America where commerce has been developed at the expense of our cultural life we have greater need than other countries of preserving our artists. We need them to leaven the bread of materialism on which we, as a nation, have been overfed; to give color to our dull, drab fields of commerce, and to save us from dropping back into a state of artistic barrenness through which we have been laboring for so long, and from which we have so recently emerged with the bright hope that we might eventually create one of the great artistic centers of the world in our country.

Now that conscription has come, is this hope to be destroyed?

The object of the government is no doubt to utilize the forces of this country to the best advantage and to avoid waste, misdirected energy and useless and unnecessary sacrifice of life. To send artists to the front would seem to be an unwarrantable waste of life and talent, for during the present war it has been proved that they do not make efficient soldiers. (In speaking of artists I mean to include the sculptor, painter, poet, musician and the actor.) This does not mean that they are either cowards or shirkers, but simply single purposed. The true artist worships only at one shrine. For Art he is willing to give up luxury, to suffer, if necessary to starve, but to give his life for any other cause seems to him almost treasonable to his highest ideals.

There are, of course, exceptions to the rule and now and then we come across an Alan Seeger to whom war appeals in the light of a wonderful adventure. As a rule, however, artists have but little of the militant spirit.

It has been proved that a shock which a more phlegmatic type is able to withstand often proves fatal to the highly strung artistic temperament and that the very qualities that go to make a man an artist, unfit him for military service. This being the case it is obvious that the artist is just so much waste material in battle.

By exempting artists from military service I do not mean to suggest that they should be excused from all duties to the state, nor do I think that they would wish to avoid doing their "bit," but surely there will be plenty of ways in which they can serve their country far better than by uselessly sacrificing their lives.

Civil life must go on as normally as possible. The doors of our theatres, operas, art exhibitions and concert halls must be kept open for we will need every escape that art, music, literature and the drama can give us from the grim realities of war.

Cannot some way be devised whereby our young artists may be used here at home in the service of the state without depriving our civil life of an element which they alone can give and which is so much needed to round out and enrich our national life?

Early in the war France and Germany realized the importance of safeguarding their artistic development and found ways of doing so. If these countries felt the necessity of preserving their poets and painters, their actors and musicians, how can we, with our far smaller percentage of artists, afford to sacrifice the few we have? In the trenches they will be of comparatively little value, but here at home they can prove of immeasurable importance in the period of reconstruction which is bound to follow this prodigious and destructive war.

MARGUERITE ABBOTT.

New York City.

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After the Play

THERE is no good reason why, if you have lost him, you should seek out the T. B. M. But if you should be looking for him, in all the fat prosperity that is mixed up with corn bread and self-sacrifice, you can easily find him, very hot and probably a little drunk, at the eleventh reproduction of the Ziegfeld Follies. He sits at the Follies in rows, red-faced and genial and pop-eyed, his dinner an immediate and pervasive recollection, his drink between the acts a happy prospect. The extent to which he gulps at the semi-naked chorus is the greatest tribute there is to the shrewdness of the leg-show producer. Like a large fish floundering after a butterfly, he yearns toward the pseudo-nudity on the stage. Just how much nudity to give the T. B. M. must be a fine problem for the Ziegfeld management, the dullness of giving too little being apparent and the risks of giving too much being obvious. But nudity is undoubtedly the bait that fetches him to the Follies and it accounts for a good deal of that entertainment's otherwise unaccountable success.

Is there any objection to a semi-naked chorus? Not from me. But I do dislike to see sour, unripe and poisonous entertainment disguised by the over-employment of sex. If the Ziegfeld chorus were clothed in brown jaegers by order of the mayor, the paucity of the entertainment in general would be shockingly revealed. And just because I am not a tired business man in an active state of anti-prohibition I decline to take glimpses of nudity in lieu of every other amusement. The titillation of sex is not of itself a sufficient evening's diversion, not even when the lingerie advertisement becomes incarnate and walks around —as a bride-to-be—on the stage.

As against the humbler variety show, with undertrained chorus and garish setting and shoddy clothes, there is always something to be said for the Follies. In everything that calls for a promoter with money at his command the Follies surpasses the kind of production that was stereotyped years ago. It uses electric light in a hundred ways and uses enough of it to flood a town. It has a large and quite noisy orchestra. The chiffon in one scene alone cost $3,000 or $30,000, and in every scene, semi-naked or the reverse, the costumes of the chorus are brilliant, audacious, superb. Whatever Mr. Joseph Urban does in the way of decoration is an attractive substitute for the stuffy settings that he came to banish. The blue distance he so often arranges is itself a fine relief to the theatre eye, and is just one note in his suave decorative scheme. But when these excellences have been dutifully contrasted with the slipshod failings of the older or cheaper musical comedy, something does remain to be said on the score of entertainment.

Two Ziegfeld fans, "released" by whatever firm manufactures these typical New Yorkers, felt it their mission to reinforce the orchestra the night I attended the Follies. Male and female created He them, and the male whistled while the female trilled. Judging by the zeal of this pair, much should be said for the music by Raymond Hubbell and Dave Stamper, and it is only fair in my dullness as to music to insist that this particular music may be excellent of its kind. But if it be agreed that the rhythms of the Ziegfeld Follies are not routine rhythms, repeating on an elaborate scale the rhythms to which the Ziegfeld patrons have long been accustomed, then they are unique in a production where everything else is routine, the routine humor and the routine sensuousness and the routine Manhattanese magnificence. For, in spite of or because of the resources that distinguish this lavish production, there is nothing about it to suggest that it was produced by creative human beings. It is, on the contrary, institutional—in the sense that a hotel banquet is institutional. And for perhaps that reason, unfortunately, it seems to reach the tired business man where he lives.

It is true that there are oases in the glittering desert. Will Rogers in the wise patter that accompanies his rope-act is thoroughly human and amusing, and there is a small dog managed by Russell Vokes that is extremely funny as an inebriate. For the rest, apart from a rare moment or two, there is nothing in the exhibition of the comedians that is out of routine. Poor Bert Williams has an act which is watered down from all the leaves of past performances, and W. C. Fields merely substitutes tennis for billiards in order to repeat his juggling. Miss Fanny Brice has a good deal of cleverness though not much taste. It is only in her caricature of the Egyptian dancer that her particular kind of coarse humor has its opportunity. Two other comedians, Eddie Cantor and Walter Catlett, try hard, but a dismal memory of bug-humor and jokes about money and the stock representation of effeminacy is all that I can now revive.

There must be a cause for this aridity, aside from the Ziegfeld dependence on the sexual appeal, and I am inclined to think that the biggest cause for it is the undemocratic character of the T. B. M. Of course the T. B. M. will stand for stock patriotism. Few things are more unpleasant than to have patriotism the excuse for tableaux in the Follies, and to have impersonators take off Washington and Lincoln and Wilson, but the business man rejoices in this sort of dreadful literalness and applauds "Can't you hear your country calling?" Where the T. B. M. is limited is in his enslavement to prosperity and the narrowness of the life connected with it, and it is the devotion of the Follies to the preoccupations of the prosperous that makes it so dull, outside of its sexuality. There is nothing humane about any one of the episodes that engross the producers. There is nothing that ventures on such homogeneity as Briggs the cartoonist can count on, or that has a glimmer of the national sentience of George Ade. There is only the showy exhibition of clothes, the "episode of the purse," the "episode of the information bureau," the "episode of the telephone wires," the "episode of New York Streets and Subway"—the purse, the railroad station, the telephone booth and Broadway all being symbols for the externalized existence of the T. B. M. The fact that sentimentality is revealed over the telephone, not money-humor, hardly alters the situation. In the life that Ziegfeld wishes to celebrate there is a place for sentimentality—"episode of the garden of girls."

He is by no means a regular New Yorker, this sympathetic patron of the Follies. Much more often he is a business-seeker and business-dispenser from smaller cities, away from home and hungry for excitement. He is out of his safe reins and blinkers. He has no idea how to entertain himself, and every desire to be entertained. It is in boredom and the restlessness of boredom that he goes to the Follies, almost fatuously ready to be lured and allured.

If the business man were less antisocial there could easily be a leg-show that was also amusing and humane. The present narrowness of his existence, however, tends to keep the Ziegfeld Follies ostentatious and empty and dull. Even genuine comedians like Bert Williams cannot break the crust that keeps forming over the producers of the Ziegfeld Follies—for the real producers, after all, are the business men in front.

F. H.

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Books and Things

JOKING aside, as we say when we would notify our hearers that they need not try to look amused any longer, joking aside and seriously speaking, I have an idea.

Let search among college graduates be made, at some rich person's cost, for men and women who have never taught Latin and can read it easily. The meaning of "easily" will have to be determined later, not by me. So will the ages of the men and women to be tested. Let there be a further effort to discover how many of those who can read Latin ever do, and how often. And here, too, as you have already noticed, are terms that call for definition.

Such an inquiry, by revealing the proportion of those who can read and the proportion of those who do read Latin to the whole number that have studied it, would tell us all something. And it would have the contradictory merit of confirming us each in his own opinion. To some among us the result would appear satisfactory; to others so unsatisfactory that Latin must be taught no more; to others so unsatisfactory that Latin must be taught by methods unlike those by which the unsatisfactory result was achieved.

Were I one of those college graduates who read Latin with facility, say as easily and inaccurately as I can read contemporary French prose, I should not much care how few of us there were. Had I pursued the Latin language successfully I should not allow my repose to be disturbed by any altruistic thought of the many boys condemned to pursue Latin without success, boys who so ran that they did not obtain. This, you say, is a poor ego-centric attitude? Evidently. I mention it only because it discloses my regret that I am so ignorant of Latin.

By a second inquiry, conducted by persons who do not believe that Latin should be taught to all boys all of the time, or to no boys any of the time, but who do believe it should be taught to some boys part of the time, we should try to find a way of picking out, rather early in their schooldays, the few who seem likely to catch Latin if properly exposed. I wonder whether this sorting out process might not be called complete after about two years of Latin, taught as I suspect it of being taught at the Perse school? Without knowing why, I believe this minimum of Latin would be a good thing for nearly all boys and girls. And in the case of a few girls and boys I believe, again without knowing why, that ability to read Cicero, Virgil, Livy and Horace would add to the agreeableness of life.

Without knowing why, I say, and should not thus call attention to my ignorance if I thought it exceptional. The less ignorant defenders of Latin owe a duty to the more ignorant. In this country Latin needs a champion who possesses the qualities that he says a knowledge of it fosters. Not only must he be a man obviously different from his fellows: his differences must be such that their roots may be traced down into the Roman humanities. "Aves leur langue concise, précise, frappant des formules comme des médailles, les moralistes et les poètes de Rome ont parlé pour tous les hommes et pour tous les siècles. Aucune éducation esthétique ou littéraire ne tient lieu de celle que donne la sagesse romaine." The ideal champion must have something other than such a familiarity as translations might have given him with Latin literature and the Roman world. Blurred English words, when he uses them with knowledge of their origin, will regain their sharpness of edge. He will write an English he could not have written if he had not loved Latin clearness, listened to Latin harmonies, grasped the Latin meaning of urbane.

A champion resembling this ideal will not be easy to find. In the hunt for him we must not overlook those whom from search number one we purposely excluded, the men who teach Latin. And although it be hard, when a man knows both Latin and Greek, to separate what he owes to Athens from what he owes to Rome, for practical purposes we shall have to consider the men who know both languages.

If, for example, friends should urge the claims of Professor Paul Shorey to the champion's vacant post, and if they should admit, when offering The Assault on Humanism as an example of his style, that he knew as much Greek as Latin, I for one should not on this account think of voting against letting him act in public as champion of the younger tongue. Later, when I had read The Assault on Humanism, and had begun to regret my vote, I should regret it not because I found Professor Shorey too Greek to be Latin. My regret would spring from doubt, and my doubt from such a sentence as this: "There were brave men living before Agamemnon; and educational reformers who had the courage of their insensibilities before Mr. Flexner. He stands in the momentary limelight, the transient American embodiment of a recurrent type, exhibiting as the first pledges of a new science of education the iconoclasm of Tom Paine's Age of Reason, and the arguments against Latin of the chapter on Education in the fourth Discourse of Helvetius's De l' Esprit." This passage gives you the key to Professor Shorey's defect as a defender of the humanities. His book wants grace, it is a thing of little ease. He is polemical in these essays, and as a polemist he is not humane. His voice is thin, a little shrill, more than a little discourteous in its inflections.

By the way, perhaps I ought to confess that Professor Shorey refers two or three times to the New Republic, and that these references may have prejudiced me against his English style. I prefer, nevertheless, to hope that prejudice did not dictate my aversion from sentences like this: "Neither irony, nor rhetoric, nor argument will make any dent in the carapace of minds case-hardened in the formulas of an a priori evolutionary philosophy of progress against all direct, immediate and peremptory perception of absolute beauties and finer shades of truth." We journalists may be forgiven for such a neglect of cadence, but shouldn't a defender of the humanities give more heed to the falling of his clauses?

No, as a defender of the humanities Professor Shorey will never do. Then why drag him in? For two reasons. "Some years ago," he says, "I debated a similar [educational] question with President Eliot at the meeting of the Association of American Universities. He paid no attention to my paper at the time, and he now writes in the Atlantic in total disregard of the entire literature of the subject." My first reason, you see, is a wish to escape the fate of President Eliot, whose first step toward "total disregard" was innocent inattention to Professor Shorey.

My second reason is that The Assault on Humanism begins a series of Atlantic Monographs, from whose substance I expect as much pleasure as I have got from the form of the first. Each monograph is to be a reprint from the Atlantic Monthly. It costs only sixty cents—an attractive slender volume, excellently printed on excellent paper, bound in boards. I have only one complaint to make: the Scotch granite of the binding is so light in color that it will soil easily. I wish Mr. Sedgwick would give us something darker.

P. L.

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With a Copy of Calverley

When, lady, you applaud my rhymes
Appearing in the public prints,
(As you have done a dozen times),
I wince.

A bead (or two) bepearls my brow;
I modestly say "Pooh!" or "Tush!"
I'd blush, I think, if I knew how
To blush.

Once, when your praise was too absurd,
I spoke of Calverley. With vim
And scorn you said: "I never heard
Of him."

Tottered my reason, shook my nerve,
I stifled an uprising sob.
"Has she," I wondered, "heard of Irv-
In Cobb?"

Take, lady, then, this blithesome book—
My friend, philosopher, and guide—
And don't, I pray, forget to look
Inside.

How fair the rhymes! The verse how fresh!
Like "one clear harp in divers tones."
Read "Flight," "Forever,"—oh, read "Prec-
Ious Stones"!

Here, all this treasured tome throughout,
Shall you find undiluted joy.
You, in your classic phrase, will shout
"Oh, *boy!*"

Yet pricks the thorn upon the rose;
And lurks the wormwood in the cup:
Calverley. . . . Lady, how he shows
Me up!

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS.

Queen of My People

Mary Pickford in A Romance of the Redwoods. Scenario by Cecil B. De Mille and Jeanie Macpherson. Produced under the direction of Cecil B. De Mille. Presented by the Artcraft Pictures Corporation.

THIS is a Lasky production, by the same group that gave Joan the Woman. For star we have Mary Pickford instead of Geraldine Farrar. Jeanie Macpherson and De Mille give us, in the scenario, an American heroine they can understand. Our photoplays depend for their final advancement upon good scenario writers. The scenario carries everything upon its back like a camel. Most scenarios have exceedingly weak backs. Wid's "The Bradstreets of Filmdom" says the plot is The Girl of the Golden West, plus Salomy Jane. But it carries its load fairly well, I think, and Wid's thinks so too.

The production might be called The Doll, the Derringer and the Mask, and into it steps the queen of my people, Mary Pickford. There is an old vaudeville song, Every American Girl is a Queen. O. Henry believed that, and we have his shop-girl stories. Democracy crowns those it loves. Mary is a queen in especial, born from an all-conquering machine. The story of her rise is so romantic the fans have almost forgiven her fish-eyed exploiters.

When the nickelodeon was a black and stinking conspiracy, with a sagging sheet for a screen, with few lights but the lantern itself, the films were scratched till they looked like a rainstorm of pitchforks and hay wagons. They were hurried through for the sake of blurring the storm. Some one dashed past the pitchforks to our hearts. There she stayed. The would-be Bowery tough who took the tickets wrote to a similar person higher up. A portrait was put in front of the cave, when all other actors were anonymous. "Little Mary." Not the full name. Just "Little Mary."

After reigning alone a long time in her cave of Adullam, suddenly the child was gone. She was a Broadway star, the first one made by the outlawed films. She had the leading part in Belasco's production of In the Bishop's Carriage. We found her full name was Mary Pickford. In due season Mary came back to her people, and such a shout went up from the backwoods that all Broadway was moved with envy. A hundred queens plunged into the films, disputing the first, but we remembered Mary from the days of old. Stupid directors now conventionalized her first aspect among the pitchforks, no matter how she begged to break away. Her Frohman, Artcraft and other productions were department store wares. Her direst slums were stagy. Tess of the Storm-Country, Hearts Adrift, Such a Little Queen, Rags, Huldah from Holland, Less Than the Dust, The Pride of the Clan, etc., were winsome monkeyshines, varied with strained melodramas—of late stretched to seven reels. Her directors did their best to make her personal appearance like that of the young female on the cover of the Cosmopolitan Magazine. In some ways she was the little Eva of this generation. A Poor Little Rich Girl is her most successful rollick in her baby manner. Sometimes in that film she is innocent eight, sometimes dangerous sixteen, with no notice given of change of time.

In the audience last night were at least seven maidens wearing the Mary Pickford curls that mix up eight and sixteen. Girls wear them to the age of twenty-two. They wear them to the university classes, unless spoken to by the dean of women. Walk three blocks and note how, though no fashion magazines have indorsed it, Mary Pickford is imitated as was Queen Victoria in her youth. You say other stars have this fortune. Not to the Pickford excuses.

In the Romance of the Redwoods she hides her curls. She is Jenny Lawrence, a New England Girl. The refinement of the type is emphasized by the delicacy of the lighting, etc. Art gallery qualities are imparted to her and her eloquent trappings by art director Wilfred Buckland and cameraman Alvin Wycoff. The film is eighty-eight minutes long, seven reels. It should be five reels, with more sorting of the chief properties.

Yet they are significant, and good to look upon. It is the year '49. We have a conversation between the playing-card target in the west, and the piano in New England. Then in the New England parlor, the orphan Jenny Lawrence accepts her mother's last request. It is that she be sent to her uncle, who left for California, two months ago. We are west again. We see a handsome Indian Chief and his braves. The uncle is cut off from the rear of a wagon train. Behind his dead horse he barricades himself, and sells his life dearly. Then the east puts in its word. We see the heroine packing those old fashioned trunks. We see the tiny derringer hid in the shoe. It is the hieroglyphic symbol of the spirit of Jennie.

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In the west, Black Brown, the fugitive, exchanges name, clothing and papers with Jennie's dead uncle, whose body he finds on the road. Thus he turns back a posse. Now the east goes west. We see Jennie landed on the California coast, and starting for Strawberry Flats, which is in classic Calaveras county. We see her fare, two gold slugs, in her mitten. Now bags of dust taken from the Sacramento stage act out two sharp episodes in the cabin of the fake John Lawrence. Then he parades Strawberry Flats with good citizen airs. The home mail is distributed. He is made an uncle, for there is a letter announcing Jennie. Now the redwoods shows us the tiny queen at their feet, with her guide and her much loaded burros.

Now Jenny is alone in the Lawrence cabin. Black Brown comes. She rows with him with great spirit. Finally he takes her to the gambling hell, with chivalrous permission to tell on him. They are all too wild to listen. He saves her from the grip of Dick Roland, who is drunk enough to think her a barroom hanger-on. At length by her own choice she tells the crowd Brown is her uncle. Now note the hieroglyphics. The arrow hole in the uncle's bloody papers, a black-snake whip, Jenny's little derringer, Brown's six shooter, the gambling paraphenalia, the silk hat of the boss gambler, the dancing shadows on the doorways, all enable these episodes to be vividly given with few printed words on the screen. Then comes the wolf in the moonlight. He scares Jenny into the cabin. But she will not sleep under that roof. Hence the lantern moving to the stable, the buffalo robe becoming a couch. Later comes the blaze of sunrise in the face of the sleeper. At breakfast everything from griddle cakes to an apron is picture-writing to tell the finely graded progress of Jenny's conquest of the tough.

Later comes the delicate nonsense of the call from lonely hearted Jim Lyn. In a dizzy flirtation the Sacramento paper, the daisy and the skein of yarn are used against both gentlemen. The yarn is Lyn's web of fate. The good-bye bow to Lyn is Mary Pickford, grown up.

Later, doing Brown's mending, the lady finds a handkerchief mask, with eyeholes complete. This mask is as much the headline hieroglyphic of Brown as the derringer is of Jenny. Thus later, we have a conversation between the girl's hands. She holds the mask in one, in the other a torn letter. It is a letter to Dick Roland from his mother. Dick has been quite gentlemanly and apologetic to our girl. But as a mere adjunct of the day's work the outlaw has just robbed Dick and driven him to a reckless death. Meanwhile Black Brown with this wicked gold buys her a doll, in humorous allusion to her size, but actually the symbol of his tenderness for her, the third outstanding hieroglyphic of the piece.

In the cabin she and Brown have it out in a sign conversation in which the doll is played against the mask and the letter, and later the revelation of Roland's sack of dust. The repentant robber promises to send the gold to the boy's mother, as the letter shows it has been promised. Brown says to Jenny: "I love you, do you understand? Promise me you'll help me, and I'll play straight." It is really what the American people say to their good queen.

The penitent has no luck washing gold. Jenny in his absence begins washing clothes. Bundles of laundry are hieroglyphics for loyalty, taunting, embarrassment. The bandit, wishing to be a generous provider, relapses. He holds up a stage, in which, unknown to him, Jenny and Jim Lyn are going to a picnic. Jenny's little derringer wounds him in the hand. It had missed him back there, when she first met him in the cabin. Mary Pickford is equal to the tragedy of secret recognition as she is equal to several trials of her tragic quality through the story.

Back in the cabin, Jenny has another show-down with her man. The little derringer testifies against a toy pick, a pan of gold-dust, and a wounded hand. Brown vainly tries to introduce a pile of laundry in rebuttal.

Lyn has his suspicions. He precedes the vigilance committee to the cabin. He looks for and finds a derringer-wounded hand. A long rifle-barrel comes through the window. The whole committee enters with guns and *the rope*. Jenny with difficulty wins clemency for Brown. She confesses she is not his niece but his sweetheart. This is without result. Finally she takes the clothes from her doll on the sly. She shows them as baby clothes, implying she is a prospective mother. They grant a grudging parole to Brown. Then a member of the party in a Tippecanoe Benjamin Harrison gray stovepipe hat says: "As justice of the peace of Calaveras County I pronounce you man and wife." The two are allowed to go. Under the redwoods the goddess from the machine takes her dubious hero to her heart, with the face of a mother of men.

Last year, in the Chicago Little Theatre, in a talk on the new Irish poetry Padraic Colum quoted an excellent saying by William Butler Yeats. "Rhetoric is heard, poetry overheard." For the first time in my knowledge, the acting of Mary Pickford is permitted by her directors to have divine accident in it, poetry overheard. Setting and support might be called a high type of rhetoric. We glimpse the make-up boxes of both Belasco and Bret Harte, and later boxes.

The redwoods are a mere backdrop. Redwoods might count as much in a great film as the epic Mississippi does in Huckleberry Finn, or the ocean in Pierre Loti's Iceland Fisherman. The De Mille aggregation has the intelligence and refinement to produce such a result if they can find genius somewhere. Let them go forward. Let them give us short-story films. Let them leave behind the make-up boxes and the dramas. Let them look more toward the Pacific, and more deeply into the redwoods. Let them rehabilitate people like Annette Kellermann or Henry Walthall. Walthall has been spoiled of late by bad photography, scenarios and directing. Annette Kellermann has always had bad photography, scenarios and directing. These two have been more unfortunate than Mary.

Mae Marsh is a finer actress and artist than Mary Pickford. She has had better directing. Mary Pickford has the advantage of a unique and lonely start. Naturally the first-born of the films has been given the crown. It is also a great deal in a time of sorrow to be the incarnation of the Happy Ending.

In the Romance of the Redwoods it begins to appear that the higher the imagination of Mary Pickford's scenario writer and director, the more sensitive her response. If there is anything in a film at all it is worth seeing three times. I went to this one six times because I was glad Mary was beginning to emerge. I have found her portrait among Botticelli's muses in the Chicago Art Institute. Botticelli is classed as a sophisticated person. To repudiate this girl in haste is high treason to the national heart. America says to her silly little saint: "I love you. Do you understand? Promise me you'll help me, and I'll play straight."

VACHEL LINDSAY.

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Classical History

A History of the United States, by Edward Channing. Volume four. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.75.

THE fourth volume of Professor Channing's History of the United States brings the narrative down from the first inauguration of Washington to the close of the second war with Great Britain. Twenty chapters are comprised in this instalment, and all of these, except the first on life and labor in old America, are devoted to the methods, issues, and personalities of national politics, unless perchance the fourth chapter on high finance from 1789 to 1800 and occasional paragraphs on such topics as Washington's presidential etiquette, manufacturing, and the steamboat be considered as falling within the domain of "social history" Conceived essentially as a work on national politics, the volume is carefully proportioned in accordance with the best traditions of American scholarship. Having laid out this course, Professor Channing sails true to the chart. No whimsical interests lead him into unwonted places. No special knowledge (of which he has much) betrays him into dallying with fancies all his own. The great staples of the period are all brought in seriatim and arranged in precise order upon newly dusted shelves. There they stand (and may stand forever): the public debt assumption, the national bank, Citizen Genêt, the Whiskey rebellion, the Jay treaty, the rise of political parties, the Barbary corsairs, the Louisiana purchase, Burr's expedition, the Embargo, Lundy's Lane, and New Orleans.

The reader will be mistaken, however, if, on beholding these ancient themes, he comes to the conclusion that he might as well turn back to his Hildreth and Schouler. Not so. Professor Channing does not write with the scissors and paste pot. He turns every topic over and views it in the light of the last results of historical research. Only those who dwell within or near the borders of the American historical guild can realize how wide and deep and original are the studies upon which these new chapters of American history rest. The footnotes referring to recent literature give but part of the story. Firm and weighty judgments on controverted points and the absence of the worn question-begging adjective all bear witness to the laborious days well spent. It is not too much to say, therefore, that whoever desires a fresh story of the period covered by this volume, founded on the latest investigations of scholars and conceived in a manner thoroughly acceptable to the leading lights of the American Historical Association, must turn to these pages. Respectability, in the finest sense of that word, characterizes every page, and yet as an able young western scholar has said, this is probably the last American history of its kind that will ever be written. Each generation forges its own intellectual weapons; those whose bars are to-day freshly laid in the furnace will do well to meditate upon the fate that awaits them also!

But all historical writing is not transitory. Professor Channing has rendered many opinions that have the promise of great age. What could be truer than his words on Hamilton: "It is impossible to overstate the debt of the American people to this far-seeing, fearless statesman . . . Hamilton had extraordinary intuition in forecasting with a statesman's imagination the material development of America. He organized the assets of the nation, calling to his aid all the elements that were in the future to exploit the resources of the country. He was the organizer of exploitation, the originator of monopoly; but he did his work at the precise moment that exploitation needed to be organized and human ingenuity required excitation by hope of monopoly." There are many such judgments in Mr. Channing's pages, judgments that betray penetration and that long thoughtfulness which mark the true scholar off from the cheap critic and cheaper chauvinist. They betray also a mind of great natural powers which, had it been devoted to a different type of historical construction, could have contributed still more to our understanding of the early phases of American politics.

The present reviewer may be pardoned if he dwells particularly upon Professor Channing's explanation of the causes of the great Federalist-Republican alignment. It is all summed up in a paragraph: "The differentiation grew out of varying conceptions of the character of the new government and was accentuated by the sectionalism due to divergent industrial conditions, the ever-present contests between capitalism and agrarianism and between conservatism and radicalism. Moreover, the line of cleavage between those who had and those who had not, had been widened by the disorders of the preceding decade and by the reaction which had placed the propertied classes in power." Thus it would appear that the party division was due to different ideas about the nature of the new government and that the economic factors merely accentuated the cleavage thus created by ideas. Whence came those "varying conceptions of the character of the new government?" Did they spring out of thin air? Did they arise from the innate and inscrutable constitution of the human mind? If so, then we are lost in that trackless wilderness called "social psychology." Professor Channing faces frankly that old "spook" of American history, "sectionalism" and by saying that it is "due to divergent industrial conditions," puts it out of court. Is it too much to ask that the other old ghosts, "nationalism" and "states' rights," be laid and some real economic content be put into those terms also? How can economic elements merely "accentuate" a cleavage due to states of mind, unless it happens that a state of mind has a peculiar relation to what Madison calls the sentiments arising from the possession of certain kinds of property—or none at all? Does the state of mind exist first and the possession of property come as a result? How does it happen that the two states of mind are not fairly equally distributed among the capitalists cherishing a conception of a government that protects industries and among the farmers cherishing a conception of a government that issues "cheap money?" This does not presuppose an "economic man" or anything like him. It is a quest, not for the vague emotions that sway the more or less inert masses, but for the sources of conscious opinion whence spring leadership and the definition of party issues. But it is ungenerous to press this matter. It is enough to have that absurd abstraction "sectionalism" so thoroughly dissected that we need not expect to see it anywhere except in text-books for the next three generations. It is a curious thing how long we feed children on unrealities abandoned by grown-ups. Of Professor Channing's style there is little to say save that it is clear and dignified. He does not write with Macaulay under the candle before him. He does not think it necessary to speed up every four or five pages and lay on colors fast and furiously. There is some dry humor here and there and one cannot help smiling on reading this explanation of John Adams's disposition of good jobs during the last hours: "It should be attributed to the goodness of his heart rather than to any selfish desire to defraud Jefferson of any of his rights." Perhaps he would have let Jefferson appoint Roane Chief Justice of the United States if, out of the

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goodness of his heart, he had not desired to reward his faithful Secretary of State, John Marshall. No sportive fancies enliven (or mar) Professor Channing's pages. If he reads Tom Sawyer or Plays for Puritans during vacations, he carefully conceals the fact when he writes his History of the United States.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Realistic Social Philosophy

Community, by R. M. Maciver. New York: The Macmillan Co. $3.75.

NOTHING is more remarkable in our time than the transformation of the state. Where, ten years ago, it seemed tolerably clear that the notion—born, for the most part, of the French Revolution—of national sovereignty had become the last word in our problems, to-day it is very evident that as a theory it is totally inadequate to our needs. A careful reader of Rousseau, indeed, might have guessed that some day he would come into his own. He suffered from expression in terms of the Revolutionary Terror, and where men crticized him they also did not read. Yet, after all, he propounded squarely and honestly the fundamental problem in political science. The existence of power is a fact; but that above all things which needs enquiry is the question of its legitimacy. The state went undoubted on its primrose path throughout the nineteenth century; and if at times that path was restricted, yet it grew ever wider. A few scholars might have made some obvious deductions from Gierke, but the influence of Bismarckian doctrine beclouded the clear implications of his ideal. Liberalizing tendencies in France were simply impossible until the war of 1870 had given the final touch of disillusion to the revolutionary theory of the state. In England and America speculation was practically non-existent save for the fruitful intuitions of T. H. Green. Mill, indeed, uttered a striking warning to those who had time to give heed. But the problems of actual achievement loomed out so vastly that men found theory an arid and unprosperous adventure. It was only when Maitland made literature out of a portion of Gierke that the significance of his ideas began to be apparent. It was only when the syndicalist movement in France betokened the breakdown of étatisme that thinkers began to draw certain inferences which leaped to the eyes. In Germany, indeed, a protest against an all-absorptive state has barely become articulate; but even there signs of a reawakening may be detected. In America, and very notably, it is in facts rather than in theories that the changing perspective may be described. The obvious breakdown of the congressional system, the growing need of decentralization no less in the sphere of economics than of politics, the growth of commission government—all these point to an admission, tacit rather than express, that new needs have arisen which new methods alone can supply. If it is as yet too early to proclaim that we have done with the traditional conception of the state, it is yet clear that its orientation will, in the next half-century, be vastly different from anything we have thus far known. The state is ceasing to demand or to exact the undivided loyalties of men. Its sovereignty is already matter of debate. We have passed from the régime of the state to that of groups. We have awakened to the import of Aristotle's dictum that man is a community-building animal. Nothing is so vastly needed as the re-analysis of these fundamental concepts. We are making a government for the great society where we have still to discover its nature.

It is such an examination that Mr. Maciver has attempted in this very interesting book. It is a courageous task he has essayed, for the territory he has surveyed is very largely uncharted. Hints, indeed, we possess in abundance; and some of them, like Mr. Graham Wallas's Great Society and the Principes de Droit Public of Hauriou, are very precious. But on the whole our literature deals less with the central issue than with some special aspects it presents. That, of course, immensely increases the magnitude of the task. Sociologist, lawyer, economist, historian, psychologist —all these in some sort your pioneer must at present strain to be. He must do his own quarrying among the raw materials, and there is little reliance to be placed on any wit save his own. If of all these difficulties Mr. Maciver's book bears the obvious trace that is less his fault than his misfortune.

While there is no question that what he has written is of high ability, Mr. Maciver has yet certain defects of outlook and method which detract from the value of his thought. His thesis is over-elaborated. The book as it stands could have been much reduced in size without any essential loss to the argument. He is too deeply concerned with curiously scholastic difficulties of method which are self-created rather than existent in the material itself. Most of us do not mind if some of Mr. Maciver's problems have been discussed by students of ethics or of psychology. What we want is that he should say what is in him and leave the annoying business of classification to the pedants whom it interests. What is more serious is the unreal atmosphere of the book. Again and again it becomes difficult to grasp the vital fact that of this community we are ourselves part. There is missing the apt historical illustration which would lend point to the argument. Indeed, one can not avoid the suspicion that what one needs at the present time is less this deductive abstraction than an enumeration of every sort and kind of social example upon which a satisfactory induction can be based. What characteristics in common have churches and trade-unions? How are they differentiated from states? Is a federation a union of a kind per se different from a unitary commonwealth? What kind of loyalty does the state command relative to the loyalty of other communities? Is the individual absorbed by the groups to which he belongs or are there interstices? It seems to me clear that such quantitative study is far more likely to prove creative than Mr. Maciver's postulation of laws derived from an argument that is throughout fairly abstract in character. When Mr. Maciver urges, for example (p. 243), that "each form of association has its distinctive place . . . which cannot without social loss be usurped by any other association," the argument looks very bare until it is translated into instances like the conflict between city and gild, or the effort of the Catholic church to usurp economic functions. Again, after urging (p. 301) that "no social claim is absolute" Mr. Maciver goes on to argue that "when the essential social structure is endangered at any point all within it are called thither peremptorily to its defence." But here clearly are two curves which are likely to cut each other. What if the individual clash with the community at the point where the social structure is threatened? It is such a problem that confronted the early church and explains its passionate search for unanimity. The instances of such conflict are simply innumerable. But Mr. Maciver merely states the problem in a form that is in fact contradictory and leaves it in a condition where, if he had plotted a curve of conflict he could have thrown much valuable light.

Again, many of Mr. Maciver's laws seem such obvious

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commonplaces as hardly to be worth the discussion he elaborately gives them. Twelve pages seem an over-generous amount for the "law" that with the development of individual personality community becomes increasingly differentiated; yet where he has a fundamental thesis to maintain as in the assertion (p. 255) that the true administrative system of any community is federal, three pages suffice for its dismissal. Similarly the immense space that is spent upon the fairly clear thesis that the development of human faculties depends upon the environment they encounter could easily have been diverted to a much needed discussion of the place of contract in association. What Mr. Maciver has to say of this is simply inadequate. It misses the fundamental point that certain associations such as churches have contracts of membership in their dogmas which are at no moment true of the body as a whole. If, for example, the church of England remains so intellectually federalized as at present, one may still hope for the interesting spectacle of a follower of Professor Drews seated in the archiepiscopal throne at Canterbury. Is it not, in truth, a fact that the essence of every society is not its contractual basis but the life it leads? The famous Free Church of Scotland case is a striking illustration of such a truth.

Not the least serious defect in Mr. Maciver is his seeming ignorance of vital tracts of human experience which are essential to his theme. He has, for example, a very able analysis of mistaken theories of community in which he dismisses the hypothesis that the personality of a group is real. But he does not here discuss the immense and even crucial significance of the legal issues that are involved. No man can adequately deal with the nature of community unless he discusses that vast body of legal facts which in England led to the decision in the Taff Vale case, and in America the recognition of de facto corporations. Of those who maintain that corporate personality is real he hardly seems even to have heard. Nor does he appear to know that in one branch of the theory of community the work of Duguit has, in the space of a single lifetime, effected nothing so much as a revolution. Yet for the sociologist they are in fact far more important than the mechanical analyses of Simmel and Ratzenhofer upon whom Mr. Maciver lays so much emphasis. What is wholly admirable in Mr. Maciver is his perception of the fundamental part played by economic problems in modern life. If we are to go forward the condition of development must be, as he rightly insists, the transformation of conflicting into concordant interests. The supposed necessity of profuse competition is, as he points out, in a striking passage, based, for the most part, upon a false analogy with the processes of nature; for whereas the purpose of competition in nature is simply the multiplication of life, without reference to its ethical content, the object of society is not so much its increase as its development. So that in such a view the method of progress requires constant examination from a standpoint that because it is ethical may well be antagonistic to the purposes of nature. And it is well to insist, as he does, that the only means of testing its adequacy is the intellectual one. "Intelligence," says Mr. Maciver, "brings ever less wasteful forms," and it is the reduction of waste, and the evil results of its distribution, as in war and in poverty, that mainly concerns us. Nor is he less interesting where he analyzes the influence of machinery upon the structure of community. If he has a single defect here, it is that he hardly perceives the fundamental fact that the real importance of machinery is its transference of the social emphasis from man the laborer to man the citizen. It results in the gift of a new meaning to leisure. It renders it impossible to leave men no more than tenders of machines. Immediately we span the gap between skilled and unskilled the real center of life is transferred without the industrial scene.

If this is for the most part a criticism that is adverse, it is because Mr. Maciver has written what is an indispensable book. So much of it is full of acute reflection and suggestive interpretation that one cannot help regretting either that he did not write upon a smaller portion of his subject or that he had attacked in different fashion his present theme. No one can read what he has written without a full sense of its value. But no one, at the same time, can read it without feeling how many of his speculations need the test of inductive enquiry, and how often the high road has been neglected. Above all, if Mr. Maciver would realize that the fundamental starting point in his attempted synthesis must be psychological he would clear the ground of an immense amount of useless lumber. It is not, of course, fair to compare his pioneer work with that of so creative an explorer as Mr. Wallas. Yet one cannot help the remark that in arrangement, in illustration, in selection of material, in method of enquiry, no one has made contributions, more fundamental contributions, than Mr. Wallas. Mr. Maciver leaves him unquoted, and certainly his attitude remains unaffected by Mr. Wallas's speculations; yet I believe that if he would remodel his volume so as to answer the problems Mr. Wallas has raised he would produce a book of the first importance. He is so patient, so accurate, that we cannot be content without the best that the material will permit him to create. Our needs are too immense for us to be willing to waste those who will labor consistently in so splendid a cause. H. J. L.

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A Sensational Mechanism

Man: An Adaptive Mechanism, by George W. Crile, F.A.C.S. New York: The Macmillan Co.

IT is of things as they are, or as he assumes them to be, that Dr. Crile has written in Man: An Adaptive Mechanism. The book is ambitious, ingenious and diverting. According to its introduction, "Had Darwin and Herbert Spencer applied the principle of natural selection to physiology as completely as the former applied it to anatomy and to gross behavior, they would undoubtedly have left to us an important compilation of data, thus establishing the basis for a constructive theory of medicine, such as medicine has never possessed." Without ado Dr. Crile shoulders the task thus outlined. Swiftly and easily he proves that man is an adaptive mechanism. With this conclusion one need not quarrel, nor with the attempt to consider disease and its treatment from the point of view thus attained. But one may well pause and reason over Dr. Crile's facts and fancies, his inferences and conclusions, and, not least, his method of presenting these.

The book teems with facts as a good book of the sort should. Many are fine, sober verities that it is a pleasure to encounter anew. But many are peculiar. They possess *allure* ("facts" of this sort always do), but when closely peered at they show the features of bold fancy. Take for instance this statement about the symbiotic bacteria: "It is but a step for these bacterial residents from a temperate diet of cell-secretion in time of health to an intemperate consumption of cell-substance itself, when the resistance of the host is low. Thus the diphtheria bacilli, normally resident in the throat, may turn upon their cellular benefactors and run riot in *diphtheria*. Thus the pneumococci, constantly present in the pulmonary tract, may attack the source of their food supply and cause *pneumonia*. Thus the bacteria of the nose may attack its membrane, the secretion of which they subsist on, and cause a cold." It would be hard to find an abler presentation in few words of so many outworn notions and unproved, new ideas. To take just one point, who knows what causes a cold? Yet here is Dr. Crile letting out the secret casually. A little further on he says, "Thus below the surface of the face, neck, chest and abdomen, we find that the power of resistance to infection diminishes as the depth of the tissue below the surface increases." This is a law hitherto unknown. And to quote him again from the same chapter, "The inaugural symptoms of most infections reproduce in miniature all the typical phenomena of the ensuing disease." The falseness of this statement will be evident to any one who has seen his children through the ordinary run of contagious ailments.

With Dr. Crile's inferences and conclusions it is not much better. Granting that, as he says, "in the muscles most of the motion and the heat of the body is produced," this does not justify the decision that "the muscles govern the body temperature," unless indeed he takes the point of view that the stove boils his morning egg. The fact that adrenalin causes the eyeball to protrude and the pupil to dilate does not mean inevitably that the secretion "increases the efficiency of the eye." And do the bacteria which reside normally in the lungs really act as our "phylogenetic scullery-maids"? It seems doubtful, if for no other reason than because authorities agree that the normal lung is free from bacterial residents.

These are not isolated cases. They might almost be termed specimen instances. The results of Dr. Crile's own researches are described at some length in his book. They make crisp reading, for in them his restless talent finds full play. But one may hope that Dr. Crile's views, as derived from them, have a sounder basis than many of his generalizations from the material of common knowledge.

Man: An Adaptive Mechanism would seem from the written word to be addressed to doctors. The author offers it with "the hope of relieving and even of curing certain acute and chronic diseases and of stimulating a biologic trend of thought in medicine to the end that disease like health may be given its evolutionary setting . . ." So worthy an aim might abash a critic were it adhered to worthily. But the book's startling popularizations, its detailed explanations of phenomena familiar to physicians, its sensational pictures and their legends, indicate, rightly or wrongly, that the author wrote in the consciousness of a lay audience. Assuredly he will be read by such an audience. Dr. Crile is a busy and widely known surgeon. His adventures in scientific fields may in the end prove substantially useful to humanity. But one could wish for the sake of his dignity that he would not concede too much to popularization. Journalism may yet become the curse of science.

P. R.

Contributors

to this issue

WILLIAM HARD is a graduate of Northwestern University, and has also studied in England. He has contributed articles on economics and politics to several periodicals and is now on the staff of the Metropolitan Magazine.

ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE is a professor of government at Harvard University.

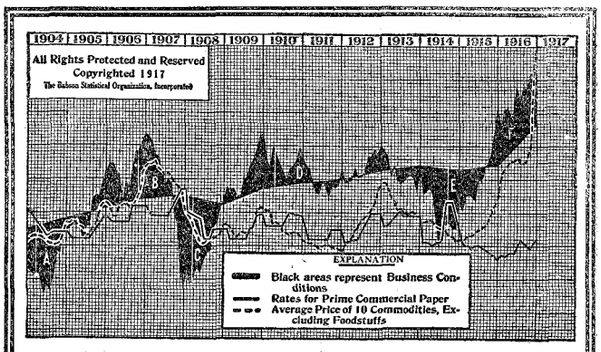
CHARLES LAW WATKINS was graduated from Yale University in 1908, has been engaged in ambulance work in France.

C. E. FRYER is associate professor of history at McGill University, Montreal,

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS conducts the Conning Tower for the New York Tribune and is the author of By and Large.

VACHEL LINDSAY is a well-known American poet and the author of The Art of the Moving Picture.

CHARLES A. BEARD is Professor of Politics at Columbia University and the author of many books on government and history.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